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MAJOR FRASER'S MANUSCRIPT.

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SALUS PER CHRISTUM

MAJOR FRASER'S

MANUSCRIPT

HIS ADVENTURES IN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND; HIS MISSION TO, AND TRAVELS IN, FRANCE IN SEARCH OF HIS CHIEF; HIS SERVICES IN THE REBELLION (AND HIS QUARRELS) WITH

SIMON FRASER, LORD LOVAT

1696–1737

EDITED BY

ALEXANDER FERGUSSON, LIEUT-COLONEL.

VOL. II.

EDINBURGH:
DAVID DOUGLAS, 15 CASTLE STREET

MDCCCLXXXIX.

Ant. "Is't possible that my dessert to you
Can lack persuasion? Do not tempt my misery,
Lest it make me so unsound a man,
As to upbraid you with those kindnesses
That I have done for you."

Vio. "I know of none.
I hate ingratitude more in a man
Than lying vainness, babbling drunkenness,
Or any taint of vice whose strong corruption
Inhabits our frail blood."

G51,545

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MAJOR FRASER'S MANUSCRIPT.

Chapter V.

NOW I begin, for the information of the reader, how the poor Major was keept in the mist by his Chief. The valet (whom I told you oft befor) with all the lies he made to his master, and the Master being too credulous, told him [Fraser] that it was proper for him to have this Alex. Fraser to wait upon him

at his landing. That he was convinced the Major would desert him with what money and commissions he had about him for the Pretender, and leave him in the mire; which intrigues were very soon after that discovered at London.

They having stayed at Dover that night Lord Lovat, next morning, hired a coach for Gravesend. The plott was laid betwixt my Lord and Alex. Fraser that the Major should go into the coach with my Lord, for fear of his running away with his money and commissions, as my Lord's valet told him. Then it was proposed by [to?] the Major, saying,

"My dear Major, you and I will go into the coach, and your cousin will ride your Lorraine horss."

"You know, my Lord, I never

liked coaching, nor would I be confined in your coach for five pound."

This refusal of the Major confirmed his Lordship of what the valet told him. He and Alex. Fraser went to a counsell what should be done with the Major. They both knew him so well that they did not chuse to use him with violence. They went both to their coach, the Major took his horss, and they came all that night to Canterbury. At that time they began to lose their suspicion of the poor Major. His chief was mightily fond of him that night, and swore many a bloody oath that he should share with him of all that he could conquess* in the world;

* *Conquest* is the Scots law term for property earned; as distinguished from what is inherited.

and asked the Major if he would be so happy as to gain the estate of Lovat, what share he might expect; and then offered upon stampt paper, a right to the best davoch* of land

* *Davoch.* Pens have been crossed and much ink shed about this unhappy word. It has been considered in its origin analogous to oxen-gate, plough-gate, or husband-land, where reference is to the amount of labour required for tilling. Sir John Skene, *De Signif. Verb*, warns his readers that "in sum buikes is wrangeouslie written, *Davata terra*," which they must not confuse with *Bovata*, or ox-gate. A learned correspondent writes from the Major's district that in Gaelic the word *dabhach*, a vat, or other large vessel, is still in use; and he holds that, like *boll* or *bushel*, this may have represented a fixed measure of grain enough to sow the land, or the amount of its produce. Some time ago Professor Masson advanced a very interesting theory on this subject, which we hope to see in print.

But my learned friend in the North states that *davoch* is still commonly used in that quarter, especially in Gaelic, without reference to any particular measure of land; and it is probably thus our Author employs the term. It seems it is now applied to *specific* lands as "the Davoch of Inchbrine," in Glen-Urquhart, and never as "a davoch of land."

Several rival theories as to extent converge upon 416 acres.

in that estate. The Major answered "no to cut fish till he catched it," and also told them that he had no mercenary designe in his view, but a piece of vanity, if by his small endeavours he would be restored to his living at his place in the country.

Next morning they went off to Gravesend, they seeing that the Major led the way before them, they began—at least my lord did—to lose his suspicion wholly of him. After having stayed there awhile they sent of [off] a boy with the Major's horss to London; then they called for a pair of oars, and went all three by water to London. Before they came there, Alex. Fraser had taken a private lodging in the heart of the city, in a Jacobite's house, who was a haberdasher. They having come there be eleven a clock at

night, yet the plott against the Major was not to be discovered till the valet came, whom they left at Roan with the bagage; but he at last lands within two days after they came there. After he had come, and found out their lodgings by means of Alex. Fraser.

Upon his first appearance to them, my Lord called him and the Major. Then my Lord took one of his pistols and gave it to the Major, and desired him to shout that villain. The Major asked him, for what? He told him the whole affair; and that,

"It was by the villian's means, and false information he made of you to me at Somoor, that made me goe twice to my closet for a pistoll to shout you."

Whereupon the Major replyed in

a great passion, that he (meaning the Chief)

"Would he believe a villain's false information of a poor gentleman that had left his wife and nine children and exposed himself in an unknown country without the language?"

The Major telling my Lord this, threw the pistoll out of his hand to the wall, and said he had now brought him to British ground to do for himself; that he did not think it safe to serve such a credulous man, who would believe *a wife with a blue sleeve* of his best friends; which he was then sorry to say, but is come to pass.

The Major offering to take leave of his lordship, my Lord was then afraid of his shadow, his conscience not being right, that the Major was

designed to take him at all disadvantages, which he knew afterwards was not his designe. My Lord took the Major in his arms, and told him as he brought him from exile, and knew that the laws of Britaine were against him, and that he could not intrust his life to any but to him, he would not part with him; and if he did, he would goe back to the country he came from, and goe into a Cloister, where he would end his days. This made the Major relent, who had nothing in view but to establish him; and told him with the same breath not to be affraide, and begged of him not to believe storries of his best friends; which was all useless doctrine to him as you shall know hereafter.

Next morning, after the communing, he sent the Major to my Lord

Isla to tell him privatly that he was come, and to see what encouragement he was to expect from him and his brother. The Major's reception with that great man was but indifferent, only talking of the Pretender, and what the Major thought of him! The Major having come back to his Chief, told him what my Lord Isla had said, who then was a little down in the mouth, and wished he had not come from Somoor, but recovering himself desired the Major to goe to Brigadeer Grant; and he told him he was come. The Brigadeer received him with open arms, and asked him many questions, and withal asked him if he had seen Lord Isla. He told him he did, and gave him no great encouragement. The Brigadeer desired the Major go and

tell Lord Isla that he would bale Lord Lovat with his whole estate, and his head to the boot.

The Major returned to my Lord Lovat, and told him what the Brigadeer had said. My Lord Isla then seemed a little more favourable, and desired the Major come next morning. The Major having then come, his Lordship told him he was then drawing up a paper to be sent to the five Northern Countys of Scotland, to be signed by the leading gentlemen of each, which was to be presented to the Ministry signifying that my Lord Lovat who was then in exile, that if his Majesty, King George, would be pleased to give him his pardon, in case there was anything adoe, that he would be very useful at the head of his Clan at home.

The paper being made out the difficulty was who should go to this five Northern Counties. My Lord Lovat was very loath to part with the Major, but my Lord Isla would entrust it to none else.

The Major took journey from London 11th of Decr. 1714. He having come to the shire of Inverness, he and Alexander Fraser of Phopachy who was always, as is well known, faithful friends to their Chief, travelled the five Northern Counties in the winter storm, and got the subscriptions of every leading man in that countrys. When they met with the Jacobites they made them believe that this address was from the Pretender. To King George's friends inravelled [?] the story, telling them the whole plott, and that the paper was drawn up by my Lord

Isla, to work out Lord Simon's remission with King George.

I must assign you the reason of this, and why Lord Isla diptt [duped?] those leading men in the Countys to sign that paper.

The only reason was that the Major told him, as my Lord Isla suspected, that Lord Lovat at the bottom was a Jacobite and Roman Catholic, and that he feared his truckling, otherwise he and his brother Argyle would have got his remission before he was ten days in London, or to be known to his enemies that he was there.

The Major having returned in Feby. 1715 from Scotland to London with this paper, signed by all the leading men in that five Countys, he delivered the same to my Lord Isla, and told his Lordship how he

had haidged [hedged] with the Jacobite party, and made them believe that he was working for the Pretender, which made my Lord Isla after not employ that trust the Major, [?] and would not do anything for his chief but what he did by him.

The Major and his Chief was forced then to make many a moon light flitting from one part of London to another, the report having come from France that they made their escape, and that undoubtedly they behouved to be at London. Whereupon the Duke of Atholl employed the Duke of Montrose, who was then Secretor for Scotland, to make search at London for my Lord Lovat, Yet notwithstanding of all this search, they kept themselves safe till the month of June.

I omitted to tell that when the Major returned from Scotland with his address he brought with him my Lord's brother, Mr John. Upon 11th June, being then lodged in Sehoes [Soho] Square be three a clock in the morning, two baillies and so many constables, with armed men, came into their rooms, and desired them to surrender themselves prisoners in the King's name. The Major then gott to his arms, and asked them if they were for King George, and the reason why he asked so was seeing there had, at that time, been a great insurrection at London, and a report going that the Duke of Berwick was there *incognito.*

The baillies answered the Major that they were for, and in name of, King George.

The Major answered that all the men of that room were so too.

The baillie told his orders was to bring them prisoners. The Major knowing that his Chief, who lay closs within the courtins, and heard all this debate, was not a little affraide of some *pater nosters* and *avi marias* he had got about him in his pockats, and if a search was made would bring him tymely into Tyburne. The Major having called for a pint of brandy, desired the gentlemen to sit down, and guard the doore, and take their dram till such time as the other gentlemen got on their cloaths; but immediately the Major got hold of his Chief's bridges [breeches] and took out all his *pater-nosters*, and I believe the *Virgine Mary* among the rest, and had no other way to secure them

but to put them into an house of office near my Lord's bed.

This being done my Lord thought himself pretty safe, they were then brought prisoners to a Spunge house. They having come there, my Lord called for a gentleman that was his relation, who was then at London, being John Cuthbert of Castlehill. My Lord Lovat desired him to go immediately to Lord Isla and inform him that he, his brother, and the Major were taken into custody. My Lord Isla's answer to Mr Cuthbert was that he would relieve the Major, but that there was no other relief for the other two gentlemen but to go to Tyburne.

You may believe at that answer my Lord Lovat wished his Major at the devile, who had brought him from France, and sore against his

will, as he then declared. It being then near diner time a'day, there was little stomach among them, four centrys being clapt on the door, of whom there was two Frasers of my Lord Lovat's people of the 3d Regiment of Guards. There was then an absolute necessity to call a grand counsell (seeing their great friends were like to desert them) how to make their escape, for the Major—tho' my Lord Isla told him that he would relieve him—was resolved to run all risk with his Chief, to confute him and his valet. My Lord having made choose of the Major, rather than his brother, to lay with him that night, there was little sleep in their minds, but contriving how to make their escape.

This continued for severall nights, and no friend coming near them,

made them believe that they were wholly deserted. The matter then concerted betwixt Lord Lovat and the Major was, that they knowing the night that those Frasers was to be upon centry, that my Lord Lovat should bribe them to make as many of a party of the Highlanders that were of that Regiment as would carry them off with flying colours. Secrecy being sworn, there was four score with their full arms, ready to fight their way, wherever my Lord desired them.

The Rebellion then having broke out in Scotland, at that very juncture, my Lord Sutherland was ordered by the King and Ministry to go for Scotland to command as Lord Lieutenant. My Lord Lovat hearing of this, wrote a very creeping letter to my Lord Sutherland in these terms—

"As he had the honour to be a relation to his Lordship, and altho' at the time he had his misfortunes, if his Lordship was pleased to countinance him and procure him liberty from the King and Ministry, and become his bale for his good and loyal behaviour; in that case he would be very useful to him at the head of his Clan in the North for King George's interest."

When my Lord Sutherland received this letter, he went among all those whom he thought was Lord Lovat's friends; they finding my Lord Sutherland was very sanguine in my Lord Lovat's interest, they all came in to joyne my Lord Sutherland in a bale-bond of £5000. And such as did joyne were Brigadeer Grant, John Forbes of Culloden, Sir William Gordon of Invergordon, Sir Robert Munro of Foules. My Lord Lovat knowing

that this was in agitation, stopt his design of going off with their flying party.

All this time Lord Sutherland signalised himself as my Lord Lovat's speciall friend, and left not one stone unturned until he got this bond signed, and thereafter got my Lord and his company out of prison. My Lord Lovat then was of thoughts that he would have his pardon, and be ordered to go for Scotland with my Lord Sutherland, but he found himself all mistaken in that thoughts, for it was so conceived in the Bond, that he was to stay closs at London till the latter end of Octr. thereafter; and the only reason for that was seeing the Duke of Argyle and his brother feared his truckling.

All the King's party were then

ordered to Scotland, my Lord Isla being among the last that went off from London. The Major the day before he went came to see him, and asked his Lordship what would become of his poor Chief, being obnoxious to the laws, and that certainly the Duke of Atholl, with the family of Hamilton, who no doubt would be in King George's interest, would prosecute his Chief when the Rebellion was over: and if his Chief got leave to go home to appear in King George's cause, that he might come to table a cart [card] with his enemies.

Whereupon my Lord Isla answered,

"For you, Major, I'll trust you, but am doubtful of your Chief, and I can see no reason why you shall stay here; you'll come along

with me, and you shall faire as I do."

The Major answered,

"My Lord, I let your Lordship see those four months by past several letters from gentlemen of the name of Fraser, where they stand out against the Jacobites, waiting their Chief's home-coming to appear with them in King George's interest; against Fraserdale and such of the Frasers as he made in his interest for the Pretender."

But after all the Major could say, he [Isla] had always his doubts about his Chief, and insisted upon the Major's going with him next day (which he had since reason to repent that he did not go) but the Major sought two hours to advise upon his going.

Then he came immediately to his Chief, and told him what had passed. Whereupon his Chief answered,

"If you leave me I shall leave bale and all, and die a Capizian [Capucine] in France."

The Major answered,

"Did he believe that he would stay in London, and have his small family destroyed by the Rebels upon his account, that would take his valet's lies or* tomorrow of him."

He answered by an asseveration he never would, and that while he was master of twopence he would share with him.

The Major answered that he had not assurance enough to refuse my Lord Isla, who was fond to have him along with him, but desired himself to goe to my Lord Isla and

* *i.e.*, before.

to tell him he would not part with the Major.

Whereupon he went, and took his leave of my Lord Isla.

Next morning the Major went and took his leave of Lord Isla a horseback, making his apologie to him, wished him good journey. The Major then having returned to his Chief, went to a grand counsell how to dispose of themselves in that place not having a Scotchman to advise with.

The Major and Mr John Fraser, who was a very good man, and a sound Protestant, tho' he had been some time in France, they consulted together how to encourage Lord Lovat to make his way from London as he had made from France.

The Major in the morning came to his Chief's bedchamber, and told

him altho' he had refused to go with Lord Isla if he did not make ready to go home, his brother John and he would go off in two days, being fully resolved to live and dye together. My Lord answered,

"Major, are you mad? how can I leave this place and goe home to Scotland, being obnoxious to the laws, and gentlemen having baled me and having no pass, and the country of England in an uproar, and if I should be taken, as certainly I cannot miss it, I'll be sent back to Newgate?" The Major replyed,

"Are you to stay here to be tryed for your life? as certainly you will when you have got no remission, and that the greatest friends you expected to have, looked upon you as a Jacobite and Roman Catholic,

and will so do till you show yourself in another shape."

The Major told him if he took his advice he would, *cum periculo*, venter his way, and appear at the head of his party that was waiting him at home, and stood out against Fraserdale ; and that if he was not there very soon they would dispare of him.

Whereupon he answered that he begged that night to consider upon it ; which the Major granted him.

Next morning the Major having come to him, asked him how he liked the proposal. He told he had no difficulty but only the want of a pass. The Major told him that if he went as his servant he would procure a pass from Lord Townshend* for Mr John Fraser, himself,

* Charles, 2nd Viscount, K.G., Ambassador at the Hague in the reign of Queen Anne ; and Secretary of State in the time of George I.

and two servants to go for Scotland for the King's service. He told the Major he was content to goe as his servant, but he feared he had not as much power as procure the pass from Lord Townshend.

Whereupon the Major went immediately to Chealsie [Chelsea] to his friend Mr Fraser, and told him all that had passed. He told the Major that he would that afternoon wait of Dr Wallwood* and desired the Major to wait of them both at my Lord Townshend's office, and that they would see what might be done. Whereupon they then met my Lord Townshend, who asked the Major of whom he had his commission. The Major answered he had

* Probably James Welwood, M.D., author of *Reasons why the Parliament of Scotland cannot comply with the late K— James' Proclamation, etc.* He appears to have died in 1716.

it from Brigadeer Grant, before he went to Scotland, to command as Major in the Militia in his Majesty's service; whereupon my Lord Townshend granted the Major, Mr John Fraser, and two servants a pass. Then the Major returned to his Chief, and told him, "Now make ready, for you are my servant, and we shall command time about."

That being upon Monday, there was a necessity for staying till Wednesday in order to buy horses at Smithfield. This being done, they came off Thursday's night, and was never chalenged in the whole English road till they came to Newcastle; my Lord Darnwater [Derwentwater] and the Northumberlands being then in arms.

Chapter VI.

NEWCASTLE was in an uproar. They having taken up their lodgings at one Andrew Kennedy's, the Mair of that town came in with some of the Magistrates, and asked Mr Kennedy what they were, those gentlemen that came in so full armed. Mr Kennedy called for the Major who, when he appeared, shewed Lord Townshend's pass to the Mair.

The Mair was mighty civil, and told the Major that it was not proper for him to go the post road, since my Lord Darnwater and his party had guarded all that road. Next morning they brought Mr Kennedy eight miles upon the road, in order to put them quite off the post road, which road they [kept] till they came to Dumfries.

They having come there in the afternoon, that town was in an uproar, expecting Kainmore [Kenmure], Carnwath and the Edinburgh Cavalry. The Major and his company seeking for the best house in that town, there happened to be one Mr Murray of the family of Atholl standing in the way, who knew my Lord Lovat, and who went immediately to the Mair of the town, and told him that the villain Beau-

fort was in town, who certainly was going to join the rebells.

No sooner the Major and his company took lodging, than the Mair clapt a centry upon their door with drawn swords. The Major going out to see how the horses stood in the stable, was not a little surprised to see two drawn swords before him. He asked the meaning of it; they told it was by the Mair's order. The Major desired them to shew the way, and let him go out. The Major forced his way through them; whereupon they went to the Mair, and told him how they were used. The Major having returned from the stable, told his servant, my Lord, that he feared the worst. Immediately the Mair came in with half-a-dozen of firelocks at his back, and desired them

surrender in the King's name. The Major presented him his pass from my Lord Townshend. The Mair took the pass and read it, and told him he had no regard to it. That he knew one of those gentlemen in the room was a rebell. [They replied] that if they were rebells, he must be a rebell himself, that had no regard to the principall Minister of State's pass. Whereupon the Major ordered all to their arms, and presented four blunderbushes to the Mair and his party.

The whole town then conveened. The method fallen upon was that one of the Magistrates and the Major should go to the Marquess of Annandale,* who was Lord Lieutenant of that county, and give him account of what had happened, and

* William, 2nd Earl, and 1st Marquis of Annandale, died 1720.

that my Lord Lovat should remain there untill they returned.

Next morning they went off, the Major having carried a letter from Lord Lovat to the Marquess, who was his great friend. The Major and his comerad got account by the way that the Marquess was at Edinburgh; but in an hour thereafter there came up a gentleman a horss back at the full speed. The baillie that was with the Major asked,—

"John, what's the haste."

He answered that his master the Marquess of Annandale was coming up, pursued by Kenmore and his party. Immediately the Marquess came up the Major saluted him, and presented Lord Lovat's letter to him. The Marquess answered,—

"Sir, I am sorry that I cannot

read your letter, being pursued by a powerful party."

But asked the Major overly* from whom the letter was.

The Major told that it was from his friend Lord Lovat, who was stopt by the Mair of Dumfries, having my Lord Townshend's pass, going north to rise men for King George.

The Marquess told the Baillie that the man was a foole, and did not know his duty. The Marquess desired the Major to come along, that he was making the best of his way for his house, which is within 13 miles of Dumfries.

They having come there the gates was shut. The Marquess ordered a part of the men he had with him to be planted round the

* Extra, or aside.

house, expecting an attack every minute; but when he had deliberate, he wrote a letter to Lord Lovat, making his compliments to him, and wishing him good journey, and another to the Mair, reprimanding him for what he had done, and withall desiring him to march what troops were in the town to convey him safe into Dumfries.

The Marquess asked the Major, if he would venter to go in, that night, to Dumfries.

The Major answered he would, if he knew the way. The Baillie said he knew the road, and would go along with him.

Then they both took leave of the Marquess, and came into Dumfries by one in the morning. The Major went immediately to the Mair, and told his commission.

which was to draw out all the foot and horses immediately to the street; there being a great many gentlemen from the west coming there at the tyme. Immediately bells were tolled, and drums beat; all horses and foot were on the streets.

The Major went to his Chief, and told how much he was bound to the Marquess of Annandale, and desired him rise to go out with that party, either to fight the enemy, or convey the Marquess into town. He answered that he was not well; and desired that he might go.

The Major went, and was the first man that came in to my Lord Marquess; and as he was a fine gentleman, thanked the Major very kindly for his care and diligence. My Lord Marquess immediately

made ready, and marched to Dumfries. My Lord Lovat came to wait of him, and after drinking a botle of wine together, they parted.

One John Fraser who was a residenter there invited my Lord Lovat and his company to denner. No sooner the cloth was laid on the table, a cry came to the doore that the enemy was entering the town, namely Kenmore and his party.

My Lord Lovat and his company left denner, and cam up to the Marquess of Annandale, who stood with his whole party upon a rising ground at the end of the town. The Marquess told my Lord Lovat that he was very glad of his coming, seeing he had more skill to modell his horss and foot,

having been in the army. Lord Lovat and the Major was putting them in the best order they could, countrymen were running in from all parts telling the enemies was coming this way and that way. The Marquess ordered soe many men with axes to hew down a good many trees, by way of baragade; in end, they were weared [wearied] standing there, and no enemy appearing.

The Major came up to my Lord Marquess, and told him, if he pleased that he would go out, being well horsed, and view the enemy's motion. Whereupon the Marquess thanked the Major kindly, and sent a countryman along with him upon a horse to guide him the road. They went on about two or three miles, but

could see nothing. In end the countryman desired the Major to goe to the top of a hill, which lay above a river. They having come to that hill, there was a great body of horse at that river side, as the Major could guess about 7 or 8 score. The Major having the advantage of them, and being upon a rising ground, to try their intention fired one of his pistols.*

The guide seeing this, made the best of his way for Dumfries, and told my Lord Marquess that by the time he came there the Major was a dead man ; and that he seed before he came off a dozen of horss coming closs upon him, which put my Lord Marquess and my Lord Lovat in a

* This and the preceding paragraphs regarding Lovat's doings near Dumfries have been quoted by Dr Hill Burton in his *History of Scotland*, vol. viii., chap. 89.

great concern, and detached off two light horsemen to know the certainty of this. The Major mett them coming and gave account that those gentlemen were passed the water, and that he stood upon the hill till day of light was near past, and be that time they were, as he could judge, seven miles from Dumfries.

The Major having come up was graciously received by the Marquess and Lord Lovat, and the story of the guide afforded a hearty laughter.

My Lord Marquess, upon the Major's information, dismissed his men; and as my Lord Lovat and him were parting, there came up the other side of the water, a great body of horse, with a very pretty gentleman upon their head. My

Lord Marquess was in great consternation who it could be, and ordered one Fergusson of Craigdarroch* & the Major to meet at the bridge with as many as pleased to follow them, and to stop them, if they could, if they were not friends.

Craigdarroch and the Major having come up to the bridge, then Craigdarroch knew the gentlemen on their heads, and told the Major they were all friends. And to tell truth they were very well-looked men and horses. Then the Major and his Chief took leave, and came only four miles upon their road on their way to Stirling.

Next day coming in to Lendrick [Lanark],' one Captain Campbell

* Alexander Fergusson of Craigdarroch, head of an ancient and honourable family in Dumfriesshire.

with a company of volunteers was in that town going to joyne the Marquess of Annandale. My Lord Lovat and his company having lighted there to take refreshment, Captain Campbell came to wait of him, and to know what he was. He having conveened the Magistrates of that town made my Lord Lovat and his company burgesses.

Next morning they went on their journey for Stirling and dismissed the Major to go before him, and desired him to meet Brigadeer Grant, and to tell him that he was coming. The Major came to Stirling, and met the Brigadeer, who was not a little surprised on seeing him there, since he knew there was no separation betwixt him and his Chief.

The Bridageer asked the Major what was become of his Chief; the

Major answered he believed by that time he was within ten miles of that place. The Brigadeer was not a little surprised, and asked the Major how they came from London, and that [if?] my Lord was confirmed under bale there. The Major told him (as I said before) and how he came away.

The Major told the Brigadeer his commission from his Chief to him was, that the Brigadeer should go immediately to the Duke of Argyle, and tell his Grace that my Lord Lovat was come, in order to go North to make a diversion in that country.

The Brigadeer answered,

"Major, you know how far these brothers credit your Chief."

The Major answered he would make my Lord Duke credit what

he told him, if he was pleased to introduce him.

The Brigadeer immediately dressed, and went and presented the Major to my Lord Duke, and told him that my Lord Lovat was near at hand, which did not little surprise my Lord Duke. He called the Major aside and told him; and asked him what intentions his Chief was off.

The Major assured his Grace that he was fully intent to go home, and head such of his men as did not join Fraserdale in the Rebellion. My Lord Duke asked the Major if he could trust him.

"My Lord, be in no concern about him, for to my certain knowledge there is 300 hundred of his name to join him when he goes home, and if he offers to joyne the

rebells, I can assure you of his head being sent you to Stirling; and moreover, my Lord, that such of his name as joined Fraserdale, if we were at home this night, shall all desert Fraserdale from Perth."

Which accordingly thereafter happened.

My Lord Duke being confident of the Major's honesty and intentions, called the Brigadeer, and desired to bring Lord Lovat to him under silence of night; which accordingly the Brigadeer did. They having met, Lord Lovat confirmed what the Major had told his Grace before, yet I must own that his Grace had his doubts about the gentleman as he has to this day. But however he could make no better of it, but encouraged him with great promises, and gave him an

hundred guineas at parting to help him North.

The matter to fall on then was how Lord Lovat and John Forbes of Culloden, who was then at Stirling, would get home, the Highland army guarding all the roads. The method fallen upon was. Three men of war being then lying in the south Firth, my Lord Duke was to write that night to Provost Campbell of Edinburgh, to order one of the men-of-war home to the Murray Firth with my Lord Lovat and Culloden, and their company.

In the morning Lord Lovat and Culloden having gone off to Edinburgh, Culloden came first there. My Lord Lovat and his company took up their quarters in the Grassmarket. They being not well settled there, a Lieu. with a foile [file] of

muskateers came into their lodging, with an order from the Justice Clerk* to apprehend my Lord Lovat. How he was informed so suden is what I do not know, but it would be thought that certainly he had a *familiar*.

My Lord immediately sent the Major to Provost Campbell to tell him what had happened. Provost Campbell sent immediately to the Justice Clerk to withdraw his party, otherwise he would let him know that he commanded in that city.

Then my Lord Lovat was immediately released, and went to wait on Provost Campbell, and thought he had nothing to do but go aboard this man-of-war in the morning which Provost Campbell expected.

But that night an express came

* Adam Cokburne, Lord Ormiston.

from the Duke of Argyle telling that he could not part with any of the men-of-war ships, being informed that my Lord Marr had a mind to indake [intake ?] all the boats and ships upon the Fife side, and cross his whole army into the Laudians ;* but desired that Provost Campbell would order a ship from Leith home with Lord Lovat and Culloden.

Whereupon the Major was immediately sent to Leith, who found one Captain Clark, a Portsoy man, ready to sail, the wind being south-west. Provost Campbell ordered 28 firelocks from the Castle of Edinburgh, with amunition conform, aboard that ship. My Lord Lovat and Culloden having come down to Leith did put provisions aboard.

* Lothians ; *Louden* is sometimes used for Lothian, but I believe the Major's phrase to be unique.

There happaned to be at Leith 12 or 14 Highland drovers that afternoon, that were come from England after selling their cattle, who were impatient to get home, but durst not ventur with their money over land, for fear of being rob'd. They being of different names, and the most part of the name of M^{c}Kay, who were not well loved by those in the Rebellion, none of their name being there, my Lord Lovat and Culloden took them all aboard. The wind being then fair, they set sail it being that night brisk [bright] moonlight, sailing upon the Fife side, Culloden and my Lord Lovat were sleeping in the cabin, and the rest of the men under the hatches; but* the Skiper at the helm, one of the sailors, and the Major.

* Except.

But I forgot to tell that before they went aboard of the ship at Leith, they load their pieces, which lay on the cock-boat on deck, and, as I said before, there being none upon deck save the Skiper, one sailer, and the Major, the sailer told the Major that there was a boat coming up closs upon them. No sooner he spoke the word than they fired on them. The shot risled* through the sails.

The Major asked the Skiper the meaning of that. He told that he knew it was a boat of Lord Marr's, cruizing there to know whether we are friends, and if you are friends, as I hope you are, we will slack the sail till they come up. The Major immediately presented a gun to his breast, and desired him to

* Rattled; "rizzle," to rustle.—*Jamieson.*

higher [raise ?] all sails, or you are a gone man, and called to all below dake to come up, and go to their arms ; and a parcell of very pretty fellows they were.

Lord Lovat and Culloden hearing a noice put out their heads, and asked what the matter was ; the Major commanded them to keep their room, he knowing by that time that they were sea sick. The boat being in rear of them, they let fly three or four shots more, they having plenty of amunition. In a short time the ship outrun the boat—and soe they were quit of her.

The Major that night found that the Skiper was a Jacobite, and had his eye always upon him. Next day coming near the Bay of Aberdeen, the Skiper made a faint, and

told that he had particular business in that town, and that he would not stay in it above half an hour.

The Major told him to *sail on;* that it was not time to stop their passage with such a fair wind. But however it happened that afternoon as they came to the Bay of Fraserburgh, the wind turned a *pick-teeth*, so that they were forced to drop anker before that town.

Then a counsell was held by my Lord Lovat and Culloden what method to take. My Lord Lovat would rather go to sea than land at the man's door, for whose father he had erected a gallews.*

* Dr Hill Burton refers to this passage in his *Life of Duncan Forbes of Culloden* (pp. 286-87); he says—"Finding that the Captain of the vessel was a Jacobite, they threatened to pistol him, and were contented to part company with

Culloden answered that he believed he would not hang him; and for his share he was so sea sick, that he would rather fight his way, and dye at land, than keep the sea any longer. Whereupon the cock-boat was put out, and as many as it could carry went ashore, namly my Lord Lovat, his brother, Culloden, and the Major.

Having come to the best inn in

him *at Aberdeen*, instead of continuing the voyage, etc. . . . *At Aberdeen* they found Lord Saltoun in command of the Jacobite forces —a serious discovery for Lovat, who, sixteen years previously, caused a gibbet to be erected before his window," etc.

Upon this Hill Burton remarks—"So Major Fraser says; but the Lord Saltoun mentioned in the *Life of Lovat* had died a few months before this meeting." The Major, it will be noticed, makes no such mistake as that attributed to him. As for the other discrepancies, the explanation seems to be—as already suggested—that the version of Major Fraser's MS. seen by the Historian, was by no means so perfect as that now dealt with.

town, it might have been then about 10 a clock at night, the night being very cold, and those gentlemen sea sick, called for a blaize, and a pint of burnt wine. While this is making ready the Landlord is called, who came back immediatly, and told Lord Lovat and Culloden, not knowing who they were, that my Lord Salton was below, wanting to know what the gentlemen were that came in from aboard that ship.

My Lord Lovat spoke in Irish [*i.e.*, Gaelic] to the Major that the Landlord might not understand them, desiring that if ever he acted the man to do it now with my Lord Salton, otherwise all his labour was lost that ever he had done for his Chief. For if my Lord Salton knew that he was

here, the world would not save [him]. Whereupon the Major went in to Lord Salton; my Lord asked him what ship that was, and what people those were that had been aboard.

The Major told his lordship that he tasted nothing since he came in, and that he would be the better of a dram* before he told his Lordship who they were. My Lord called for a double stoup of brandy, and a large glass, and gave a bumper to the Major.

Then the conversation began. The Major told his lordship that they were all drovers that had been in England selling their cattle and

* It has been suggested by a gentleman deep in Celtic lore, that in all probability the Major on this occasion quoted the old Gaelic saying—"'S luaithe deoch na sgeul;" *i.e.*, a drink is quicker than a story.

that they had prevailed with the Provost of Edinburgh to have this occasion to bring them home by sea, they having sums of money upon hand, and could not venter over land for fear of their credit and lives.

My Lord asked the Major which people they were off. The Major told they were McKenzies, Sutherlands and McKays. He asked the Major what name he was off, the Major said it was McRa. His Lordship said he would give him good news of his chief (Lord Seaforth) that he marched past here yesterday 1300 men to Mar's camp at Perth.

The Major answered,—

"I wish, my Lord, I had been at home with some money to him, I am the only one that he entrusts

with the sale of his cattle. And what would you think, my Lord, to drink to my Chief's health and his cause? You will, I hope, do me the honour to accept of a botle of wine from me, to these healths."

My Lord frankly embraced the offer, and drank, beginning at my Lord Marr, and downward. The Major finding my Lord out, and knowing his weak side, begged a favour of him in these words,—

"My Lord, the poor gentlemen aboard this ship being all drovers, were necessitate to sell their horses at Edinburgh and have brought their saddles and money to carry. If your Lordship, as you command in this place, would please to cause call your Officer, and order him to provide horses for me and those

gentlemen, the length of Banff, they should pay them very thankfully, and my Chief will take it as an extraordinary favour."

Whereupon my Lord called his Officer, and ordered all the horses in the town to be ready what hour Mr McRa called for them. My Lord and Mr McRa parted, who wished his lordship good rest.

The Major returning to his commerads gave a detail of the whole that had passed betwixt him and my Lord Salton. The Major ordered my Lord Lovat and Culloden to lay upon their beds in their cloaths on, till he and the Officer would have all the horses ready, since he knew they were not safe to stay there.

The Major going out at the door met one Alexr. Baillie, who was

Town Clerk, and a cousin german of his own, and a relation to Culloden. The Major discovered to him the whole affaire, who was not slow in making search for horses; be two a clock in the morning the Major and Mr Baillie had sixteen horses, such as they were, ready to mount.

Immediately thereafter their setting out, the alarm was given by the Skipper, that they were enemies to the cause in hand. Upon which expresses were sent to Aberdeen, and over the whole country to intercept them. My Lord Lovat, Culloden and their party smocking this, as they took horses, recommended the arms and provisions aboard to Mr Baillie's care; for which he was thereafter ill used by my Lord Salton, who at last payed dear for

the same ; my Lord Salton knowing that Mr Baillie was assisting in dispatching those gentlemen, and in taking care of their provisions and arms.

Chapter VII.

THE morning they took journey, they came to an ale house be light of day, nine miles off from Fraserburgh. Having called for a dram, the landlord told them that Forbes of Skellator was at Banff collecting taxes for the King, meaning the Pretender. The gentlemen hearing this, thought it not convenient to

travel that way, for had they met him, they would on both sides "claed [clawed, scratched] crowns." The Major having in his younger days been three years with this present Lord Strichen's* father in that country, was well acquainted with the bye roads, which they immediately held, and being much fatigued that day with going over hills and mures, came by nine a clock at night to a place called Rothymay; they were necessitate to refresh themselves and their horses at a blind ale house very near Rothimay's house. The Lady Rothimay being at home, and her husband at Mar's camp, she was

* The Laird of Strichen held lands in the Parishes of Boleskine, Abertarff, Dores, etc. (See Fraser Mackintosh's *Antiquarian Notes*, *passim*). The present Lord Lovat is of the Strichen line.

immediatly allarmed that there was some gentlemen come to the Change house, was very curious to know what they were. Whereupon she sent two servants to know from whence they came, and what they were.

The Major meeting with them without doors, called for a muchgin of Brandy, and told that they came from Perth, and were going to reinforce Sir John McKenzie of Coule, who was then Governour of the Castle at Inverness. The servants going home hearty, she again sent them back to invite the gentlemen to her house. The Major who always met them, told that the gentlemen had their service to the lady; that they were not to put off any cloths that night, being obliged to be at Inverness such an hour. The servants returned with this answer.

My Lord Lovat and Culloden lay down upon straw in their cloaths. The Major told them that he was to sit up with the landlord to give him a hearty botle, to the health of all the gentlemen of Perth.

Within an hour, two sturdy fellows appeared with two dozen of strong ale from my Lady Rothimay. Then the Major called for a bottle of brandy, and resolved to make these lads ly all night "in their scaberts;" which he effectually did, and gave them a crown of drink-money. About the first cock crow, which might have been about one a clock in the morning, the Major had them all a horse back, he being well acquaint in that road, and before day of light was near the Castle of Beiveiny* where

* Probably Balveny Castle, about 15 miles from Rothiemay, and 10 from Ballindalloch, across country.

Collonel William Grant had part of his highland company in garison. They then thought themselves pretty safe, being near the Grants in Strathspey, where they came that night to Collonel Grant's house of Baildalloch, where they got kindly reception, and who told them all the transactions that happened since the rebells first took arms.

Next day, soon in the morning, they took the road, and came to the house of Hugh Rose, Kilravock, who was then mighty fond to see them, and was holding out his house with a party.

The night being very wild, Lord Lovat was necessitate to stay there, he being always tender of his carcass. Culloden would not stay; he behoved to have the Major along with him. The Laird of Kilravock

then told my Lord Lovat that there was 300 of his men in a body, who had refused to join Fraserdale, and were at Stratherick, waiting him daily.

This made the Major's promise good to the Duke of Argyle.

My Lord Lovat immediatly told the Major not to sleep till he marched down those men to the house of Culloden.

As I said before Culloden and the Major marched off, and came to the house of Culloden be eight a clock at night, where Mr Duncan Forbes was (now King's advocate) keeping a strong garrison of men, who were better paid than the King's regulars, tho' they were all his own tennents. Culloden and the Major having entered that house, you may believe they were both well received. The

Major told Mr Duncan what commands was laid upon him, be his Chief, to be that night in Stratherick in order to march down the men. Mr Forbes answered,

"You fool, you'll starve by the way; a wilder night never blew."

However the Major was positive to get to Stratherick that night.

He having taken leave of that gentleman, with the consent of a good botle of wine in his skin, he made out that twenty miles of ruged country be day light. He arrived cold and hungry. He soon recruited with a dram of good *agavitie* [aquavitæ], and with seeing his friends resolute in the cause of their King and Chief. The querrie then to the Major was, on what terms had my Lord Lovat come home.

"Gentlemen, you are all my friends

and relations" said the Major "and I am bound to tell you truth."

Which be the by, he did not, but dissembled with them all. For had he told that my Lord Lovat had not got his pardon, but had run off from England as he did from France, not one man of them would have joined. So that the Major told that my Lord had remission of all former crimes. And that he had his promise of his estate upon proper behaviour, if Fraserdale had gone to the rebellion. And moreover the Major told them that he got £500 to bear his charges. Whereupon quart-stoups of whiskie went round to the King's health who had given their Chief his peace.

The Major and them marched next day to Culloden's, where Kilravock joined them with 300 men,

Culloden with 200, and the Frasers were 1300 men. They all marched to Inverness, to invite Sir John Mackenzie of Coule to come out to them if he pleas'd; who I must say was not shapen to be a warrior, but a very honest man.

Then they called a grand counsell about how to take the town of Inverness out of the rebells' hands. The councell being upon Munday, it was concerted that on Thursday Culloden and Kilravock would acquaint the Grants to be in a body at the South side of the town of Inverness, and that Lord Lovat should cross over to the Aird, being his country, to conveen any that Fraserdale had left at home.

My Lord Lovat having parted with Culloden and Kilravock marched to the north end of Ness,

where he was to cross. When he came there he was informed that Mc Donald of Keppoch was there, going to reinforce Sir John of Coule with 300 men, who had sent express for him. My Lord Lovat hearing this, called what gentlemen he had there to consult with him what should be done.

The method fallen upon was to send Mr Thomas Fraser minister of Stratherick (and, be the by, as good a soildier as a minister) to tell Keppoch that Lord Lovat was before him with equall numbers, and if he came on to Inverness he might expect a warm reception. This Mc Donald of Keppoch was only going to Inverness, not to serve any King, but to plunder—as he, ordinar, always was. The minister having delivered him this commands, he

thought proper to march home next morning, carrying off the booty of that country, which belonged to the Laird of Grant.

Then a second counsell was held by my Lord. The Major called his Chief aside.

"Do you think," says the Major, "if your friends knew that you had not your pardon, and was an intercommont [intercommuned] man, that they would follow you?"

"My dear Major, my life and secrasy was always in your breast, and I relied upon it."

The Major answered,

"If you was to be advised, you would march immediatly, with what men yon have, down to the north side of Inverness. For if it take air that you are not a free subject, your men will desert you. There-

for its proper to dip [dupe] them, that the Government and the Duke of Argyle, to whom we made promises, may know you was the first man that appeared in the field, and you may send off an express immediatly to Kilravock and Culloden, that you thought it proper to attack Sir John of Coule upon the north side, and they and the Grants to attack upon the southside. And at the same time to send off an express to Mar's Camp to all the Frasers to repair home immediatly, otherwise all they had at home would be wholly destroyed by their Chief and his followers."

Which express were immediatly sent off, and the same did a great deal of service; for the express came to Perth two nights before Serriffmuire [was] fought, which made

300 Frasers desert, and repair home to my Lord Lovat; who then called together his gentlemen that were along with him, and told—

"Gentlemen and friends, what would you think if I would go immediatly, and attack Inverness, for I know it would put me in great favour at Court that I be the first man who appears in this country—and as my Lord Sutherland who had the command of these five Northern Counties has been bett back by the Mc Donalds and Mc Kenzies at Alnes.* It will be thought a very bold action for us to attack Inverness with only 300 men, and seeing there are 300 men within it, besides most of the townspeople Jacobites, so my good friends, let me have your solutions."

* Alness, on the west side of Cromarty Firth, 10 miles north of Dingwall.

They all answered "let us immediately march."

Then orders were given to the Major to cause blow up the Pipes. and furthwith marched; and as they were but few in number, the Major wanted to make the Governour believe that they were twice the number, when he came near the town, he gave every foil [file] more than its due distance.

My Lord Lovat and all his gentlemen went into the house of one Mr David Poulson of Kinmyllies* to take a refreshment; the Major marched his men to the park of Moiretown [Muirton]

* Mr Fraser Mackintosh (*Antiq. Notes*, p. 232) mentions that from a charter recently examined, it appears that in 1743 all the tenants and feuars of the Barony of Kinmylies had the right of pasturing their cattle and goats on "The Hill of the Fairies," Tomnahurich, now a beautifully-wooded cemetery near Inverness.

within a quarter of a mile of Inverness.

A countryman came up to the Major, and told him there was cows in that park belonging to the Governour, that he had them as provisions for himself and his men. Whereupon the Major detached off twenty-four men, to bring in the cows, and the fellows that were waiting them. Upon the attack the fellows made their escape into the town, but the Major's party brought the cows in to him, which were 28 in number, and as good beef as was in Britaine.

The Major planted his men in country houses that were close by one another, and that night caused kill eight cows for their supper. The Governour being informed of

this sent out one Provost Fraser, and one Baillie David Fraser to know why his cows were taken away. They told that if they had not been Frasers they would have been stript, and sent in naked to him. Then the Governour saw there was no mercy for him.

My Lord Lovat and his men having continued there three days, and seeing there was no appearance of the Governour sallying out, the third day the Grants, Kilravock, and Culloden's men appeared on the south side of the town. The Governour then took to the Tolbooth, it being a strong house, and in the center of the town.

After he and his men had planted themselves there, one Arthur Rose, a brother of Kilravock's, made an

attack with a small party, he being a bold resolute man, and long a slave in Turkie, thought nothing was difficult for him there. He rashly made an attempt to force his way into the Tolbooth. He having gotten himself half way in, was shot by a ruffian of the Governour's men.

This alarmed the parties upon both sides, whereupon orders were given to attack the town on all quarters, and to take the Governour dead or alive. But he being a relation of the old Baron of Kilravock sent for him, and put himself at his mercy, and swore that he was heartily sorry for what had happened, and begged of the Baron to prevail with the rest of the gentlemen to let him go and his men free off, and he willingly would

make a surrender of the town. Whereupon the Baron and the rest of the men came into terms, Sir John of Coule and his men immediatly took boats at the pear of Inverness and being fond to be off left his baggage behind him, for had he gone by land it was not possible for all the gentlemen there to save him or his men from the party lying at Muirtown.*

Thus having put an end to the siege, which was the very day Sherriff-moor's Battle was fought, then letters were written to the Earl of Sutherland at Dunrobin Castle, lying secure, whereupon he and Sir Robert Munro of Foules came up with their men. But my Lord Seaforth and a great many

* This important capture, as described by Major Fraser, is cited by Hill Burton in his *Life of Duncan Forbes.*

of the clans being then come home from Sherriff-moor, the Earl of Sutherland wrote to Lord Lovat to send him a party to meet him in his way, he being affraid of a second attack from the McKenzies and McDonalds. Whereupon Major Fraser in two days was ordered with a detachment of 400 men to meet the Earl of Sutherland in Ross-shire, which accordingly he did.

The Earl of Sutherland that night to be revenged of what was done him at Alnes, and the Munros also to be revenged of what the McKenzies and McDonalds had plundered from them, did encamp near my Lord Seaforth's house and there destroy what they could. I must own, since I knew the whole affaire, it was but what they justly deserved.

Then a hundred of the Frasers and a hundred of the Munros were sent off to bring in provisions, there being 1500 men encamped that night, and every two men might have had a cow, being above 400 cows, and 200 sheep brought from the mountains. You may believe that the cooks were not many; there was meat [in] abundance. They having stayed there two nights, they marched forward, and carried along with them 300 cows.

Having there stayed awhile, the Duke of Gordon and my Lord Seaforth entered in a league to come and attack the King's forces at Inverness. The King's party thought it convenient to march out against the Duke of Gordon, to know whether they were to fight

or not. The King's party having come to Elgin, the Duke of Gordon's men were then at Fochaber commanded by Glenbiggat,* who bragged very much that he would be over to Elgin in order, at Elgin, to give them a battle. They longed for his coming, and found at last it was all a bragg.

Major Fraser was ordered, the third night after they came to Elgin, to go with a party of 24 men of his choise, to Speyside, and to give the Duke's men, who had the whole of their out-guard in the banks of that river, in houses made of wood a whole platoun, to invite them over if they had a mind. But it proved abortive. Seeing nothing was to be done there, then the

* Probably "Glenbucket," mentioned in Lovat's Correspondence.

King's party returned to Inverness, yet my Lord Seaforth and the Duke insisted on their intrigues to attack Inverness.

Then the King's party thought proper to try my Lord Seaforth's pulse, if he would fight any, seeing he was daily conveening his men. The King's party marched out against him, and did encamp the first night in my Lord Lovat's country, within three miles of my Lord Seaforth's camp. Major Fraser was ordered that night to beat in the outer skirts of my Lord Seaforth's van-guard, which he did.

Next morning the whole army marched. The Earl of Sutherland being then tender,* stayed at my Lord Lovat's house, and gave the

* Indisposed.

command to my Lord Lovat, who I must say had very little inclination for the work; I shall give my reason why I know it to be so.

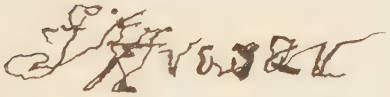
He was more attached to the other party, had not necessity obliged him to draw to the King's, and he was not yet sure of obtaining his pardon. However, he went on with the rest of the gentlemen who were at the head of their own men, to wit, Collonell Munro of Foules with 200 men, Captain George Grant with 200 men, Major McKay with 200, Culloden with a hundred men, Lord Lovat with a thousand, and the Earl of Sutherland's 200 men, the rest having deserted upon hearing that they were to fight against the McKenzies. And they having all marched, Major Fraser commanded upon the

Right Wing, and as they marched up the hill in sight of my Lord Seaforth's camp, there came one Mr Sutherland of Rosecomon, who was sent by my Lord Seaforth to my Lord Lovat and the rest of the gentlemen along with him, desiring a communing, which was agreed to.

They having met, my Lord Lovat and Mr Duncan Forbes told my Lord Seaforth that he was playing the fool, and to their certain knowledge the Duke of Gordon was making up his peace with King George, when [while?] he encouraged him to hold out with a high hand. Which my Lord Seaforth then believed. Whereupon he immediatly desired that those gentlemen should write to the Court for terms to be made with him, and that immediatly he

would dismiss his men. Which accordingly he did.

And as this is but a short account of particulars which happened to be written by a poor distressed gentleman, he thinks proper not to follow any more of the subject.



Chapter VIII.

THE Rebellion being then ended, now he begins, without any partiality, to give an account of the ingratitudes of my Lord Lovat to several persons who were his true and fast friends from the first of his troubles until his settlement at home.

I declare upon the word of a Christian and an honest man that it is not out of pique that I give

this information, but that others may not ruin themselves for any great man that has it in his principal to return ingratitude for good services. But as this gentleman thinks it meritorious to destroy heretics, I will leave him in purgatory, where I hope I will never be his comerad.

But to begin at the first of his ingratitude since his coming to Scotland, I shall mention one particular, that when he was settled at Inverness after the Rebellion was quelled, the Earl of Sutherland who was one of my Lord Lovat's baile, joined with Culloden and Mr Duncan Forbes, who wrote up to Court how useful my Lord Lovat was in the North, and entreated of his friends to go to the King and Ministry, and procure his pardon.

Which immediately was done, and sent down to him in ample order.

Alex. Fraser who met him at Dover, being always at London, as I said before, and his Chief corresponding with him by letters, at the very time the Earl of Sutherland was procuring him his remission, my Lord Lovat wrot by every post to run down Lord Sutherland, and ordered this Alexander Fraser to attend the Coffee-houses for that purpose. That he was of no more use in suppressing the Rebellion in the North than an old wife;. and that it was his Chief that had done all. When the Earl of Sutherland was come to London he was run down in all quarters; and was at last informed that it was by the means of this Alex. Fraser that the report was spread. Whereupon the Earl

writes down to Scotland, giving an account to my Lord Lovat what this Fraser had done.

My Lord Lovat writes, in answer to the Earl of Sutherland, that he was very much surprised how he would mind what that notorious villan was capable to say, who lived, to his certain knowledge, at London upon picking pockats, and ——.

The Earl of Sutherland having got this letter, sent immediately for Alex. Fraser, and asked him the reason why he so run'd him down. Alex. Fraser answered that he believed all was true that he said, that it was his Chief that quelled the Rebellion. The Earl would not think his Chief thanked him for running him so down, and at the same time let him see his

Chief's letter, which upon reading confounded him, and he immediatly produced his Chief's letters to him; whereupon they were both reconciled from that date.

Then Alex. Fraser got my Lord Lovat's valet, who was left at London, and had been at several masses with Lord Lovat in France, and they both went to the Duke of Roxburgh, who was then Secretor for Scotland, and made affidavit before him that my Lord was a real Jacobite and sound Roman Catholick, and that he was a very dangerous man, and not to be trusted.

Mr Duncan Forbes being then at London, wrote to my Lord Lovat down to Scotland to make all the haste he could up to London. That the Duke of Roxburgh had given a bad impression of him to the King.

This having come to my Lord's hand, he and the Major immediately took horse, and from Anick [Alnwick?] immediately posted to London.

Having come there be four a clock in the morning, came to Dover Street, and sent for Brigadeer Grant's principal servant, who told my Lord that his master the Brigadeer was in great concern about him, and at the same time told the Major that there was 200 guineas reward for to get him to join the other two Frasers that had made affidavid. Whereupon the Major went immediatly to my Lord Isla, and told him the story; who told the Major to keep out of the way, till the Act of Indemnity was given out; which the Major did. Thereafter my Lord Lovat made his interest with the King; where I shall leave him at this time.

After I have given account of his ingratitude to the Earl of Sutherland and Alex. Fraser, I shall now begin with another steap of his ingratitude to a steadfast friend of his, who took sticks in hand for him against all mortal, namely Mr Duncan Forbes, now King's advocat,* who plead his causes at all occasions, and never received a farthing of his money, and was oft times very ill looked on, and lost many clients upon his account, yet still stood by him, till the dispute of election happened in the year 1734 betwixt Culloden and the Laird of Grant; but Culloden and my Lord Advocat found then what kind of man they had spent their money and their time for, and if they

* Duncan Forbes of Culloden was Lord Advocate from 1725 to 1737. This affords a clue to the date of the Major's MS. which apparently is between 1734 and 1737.

had not been both pretty men to resist any *speat*, they had both suffered in their characters for serving that man.

I might enlarge much more on this subject. by * his ingratitude to those gentlemen, but shall refer it to a more convenient occasion; and furder I shall begin to another stepe remarkable of that nobleman's ingratitude. Namly to Alex. Fraser of Phopachy, who was the only man joined with Major Fraser that drew the plan of bringing him from his exile. And I must own, since my design in this account is to give every one their due, that had it not been the contrivance of this Phopachy, this Lord Lovat had never smelled his country, let be his estate. So all that this poor Phopachy got for his

* *i. e.*, besides.

labour, was to cause make an attack upon his house by a parcell of Highwaymen, whom he employed for the purpose.

This being in the night time, it happened, by the providence of God, that the poor gentleman and his lady had not been at home. These fellows having broke up the door of their house, went in with drawn swords, but missing their prey, went in with drawn swords upon the children, and wounded some of the servants. The alarm being then given, the country got to their arms, two of the rogues were seized upon, and brought in to Inverness to be tryed for their lives. They being but two of the party, and the ring-leader making his escape, it was found upon examination all they could say was, that they believed they were

imployed by my Lord Lovat in that affair.*

My Lord Lovat being at the same time in London, wrote home to his friends privatly, desiring to save those fellows, and to speak to Phopachy, as of themselves, to cause him not to insist upon a legal prosecution. Phopachy, being picked [piqued] by the usage his servants and children met with, swore revenge. The two fellows, by a fair sentence, were hanged. This being done incensed my Lord Lovat mightily against Phopachy, which occasioned a great rupture betwixt them till this day.

There happened for the first three or four years after my Lord Lovat came to the country that he made Phopachy factor to his estate, and

* This incident took place in Feby. 1725. See Appendix No. V

when his wylde humour came on, turned Phopachy out free of the factory. Phopachy being then a man of credit, and my Lord's rents not answering, advanced my Lord Lovat a piece of money.

When Phopachy found he was turned out of the factory, demanded his money of my Lord. My Lord then aledged that Phopachy was due him of the intromissions of the estate. It came to a plea before the Lords, and my Lord Lovat in end came to a submission. The arbiters mutually chosen were John Cuthbert of Castlehill for my Lord Lovat, and Robert Schievez,* of Moortown for Phopachy. The arbiters having met upon this affair,

* Mr Chevis, "a near neighbour of the impeached lord," gave evidence at Lord Lovat's trial.

they unanimously discerned my Lord to pay 8000 merks Scots.

My Lord Lovat being at London at the tyme, and hearing of this discernitur, immediatly apprehended that the sum discerned was to be divided betwixt Phopachy and Castlehill by a collusive manner; and that they made Moortown, as a partaker, come into their measures. Immediatly my Lord Lovat called for one John Fraser, commonly called *English Jack*, who was then an idler about his hand at London, and contrived with him how to be revenged of Castlehill, who passed such sentance in favour of Phopachy against him.

This Fraser told him, that if his Lordship would write to Ludovick Cameron, uncle to the Laird of Lochiel, that he would send a party

of highwaymen and cut to pieces all the cattle in his parks. This John Fraser having carry'd my Lord's letter to Ludovick Cameron, then eighteen ruffians were dispatched off to effectuate this bloody design. They having come to the gentleman's parks, hoached [houghed] and cut to pieces, fourty-eight milk cows. But the fact could never be proven, since non of the actors could be had, but it was very well known in the neighbourhood how the affaire was contrived; and to this day Ludovick Cameron gets pockat money to hold his peace.*

This acts of ingratitude shews clearly to the world how much this

* See letter of Baillie John Stewart to Lord Lovat, dated 13th March 1725. Appendix No. V.

gentleman might be depended on; all those men to whom he shew'd ingratitude being men of honour, conscience, and equity, that would venter all they had in the world to do him a service.

I shall now enter upon the last piece of ingratitude tho' I might name many others I have seen acted, namely this gentleman's ingratitude to Major Fraser. That in the year of the Rebellion, when Fraserdale took arms, one Kenneth dow McKenzie who was factor to Fraserdale, and went with him to Sherieff-moor, was then his quarter master, he having left his wife and family in my Lord Lovat's country; and when my Lord Lovat came home, took possession of Fraserdale's whole effects, he took posession likewise of this Kenneth dow's

corn and cattle; and when the Rebellion was over, my Lord Lovat was going to London in the year 1716 and must needs have the Major along with him.

The Major then beginning to know him, was constipate to go along with him, and told that his small family had suffered sufficiently already, and that he had neither corn to sow nor to eat. Whereupon he called for the Major's wife, and told her in these very terms:—

"My dear Jannet, I can never part with your husband till once I be settled in my estate; and then," as he swore in these express words, 'by the living God, you, he, and I shall live together in my country, while any of us are alive. And as your husband tells me you have neither male nor corn, send your

servants and horses to the barns of Kenneth dow, and bring as much as you'll require with you."

He and the Major having gone off to London, the Major's wife in the month of March thereafter sent her servants and horses for six bolls seed oats out of Kenneth dow's barns, as my Lord desired her. This lay over silent till King George passed an act of Indemnity, at what time Kenneth dow finding himself a free man in the forrest, commences a process of *spoulizie* against Major Fraser, which continued before the Lords of Session for the space of 12 or 13 years.

The Major went twice to London to enter his complaint to my Lord Isla, how he was used in that affaire. Then my Lord Isla called for my Lord Lovat, being then at

London, and told him in these words :—

"How came you, my Lord, to allow the poor Major to be so persecuted for six bolls of corn? if he had taken 500 bolls, he well deserved it at your hands."

My Lord Lovat answered, that whatever the Major was deserved [decerned] in, he would pay it. The Major was called for by my Lord Isla, and in his presence made my Lord Lovat confess all (as I said before) but it was to no purpose; he making promises and oaths, but no performances. So that the six bolls of corn, if there be faith in me, cost the Major at least £100. This was but one item of my Lord Lovat's compliments to the Major.

The Major finding that there was

no use to cast out with this great man, having spent his time and money with him, thought proper, altho' he was not a fitt companion for him, to truckle with my Lord, as he had done with him, and to see if by fair means he could make up at his heels what he had lost with him.

In the year 1725 or '26 the Major and his daughter having gone up to London, my Lord Lovat being then at London appeared very friendly to the Major and his daughter. It happened one night the Major had been in company with him at his own lodging. My Lord proposed to the Major to come and live aside him in his country, that he would have his choice of any possession in the place. The choice the Major

made was a place called Tamoch.* Whereupon they immediatly entered in wryte; and the Major was to have possession the next Whitsunday thereafter.

At this tyme the Major had a wadset of his brother Culduthall and after he had come from London, made a requisition to his brother of his money to be payed him again the term; which his brother condescended on. The Major then having wholly depended on his chief, he came a month before the term of Whitsunday to my Lady Lovat,† who was then come home

* Tomich is a farm on the Lovat estates near Beauly.

† This was probably Simon Fraser's first wife, Janet Grant. She died in 1732. In the following year Lord Lovat married Primrose Campbell of Mamore, sister of John, 4th Duke of Argyll. The scandalous trick by which Lord Lovat is said to have effected this marriage, as told by Chambers, and repeated by

from London and left her Lord there. The Major asked my Lady (who was always the Major's great friend) if my Lord was pleased with the bargain they made about the possession of Tamoch. My Lady answered—

"Major, you know that I have a kindness for you; and if you parole with me, that you will not discover me to your Chief, I'll let ye see something."

Then she presented a letter from her Lord, wherein he desired her, as she wished her own peace and would be answerable to him, not to let the Major in that country. The Major being then confounded, in

Hill Burton, seems to be a revival of the story connected with the marriage of Field Marshal the Earl of Stair with the widow of Lord *Primrose* (hence perhaps the mistake). Her story forms the subject of *My Aunt Margaret's Mirror*.

my Lady's sight he then wrote my Lord a letter in those terms—

"My Lord, I had the honour last week to wait of my Lady Lovat, to have her mind about the possession of Tamoch. I found her very constipate, and could not get a direct answer from her, which put me in a great concern, considering I cast myself loose out of my possession, and depended on your Lordship. I wish my long service, and must say my honest dealing in your Lordship's interest, may not be a mean to make me miserable in the event, which, if it happen, may occasion speculation, and may be a mean to entail a curse upon your Lordship and your posterity, and turn me desperate, that I shall be indifferent to use myself after the manner of the Goats (that is to say) the milk I have been gathering all day, to —— it again at night. So that I beg your speedy return, it being upon the choake of the term, and I having no

place to cover myself, wife, and numerous family in."

My Lady seemed very well pleased at the Major's writing that letter, and assured the Major that whatever return came from my Lord, he should see it. Which accordingly she did; but durs not be discovered to him, nor was it as long as she lived.

By course of next post my Lady got an answer, and so did the Major—and the answer my Lord made to the Major was in those very words—

"My dear Major, I strange mightyly at your manner of writing, considering that I am sure you have a hundred letters under my hand, wherein I promised to divide my estate with you. And as to your possession, I hope you know me better than to believe I am to give you a total overthrow. It's be

farr from that. I have written to my wife to give you peaceable possession; and to manage all my people and country in my absence, to keep off the McKenzies, which was always my last command upon you, for you know I have not gained my whole estate yet, till I gain my appeal against the creditors of that estate; soe that you must appear now as a bould lyon in my interest; and if you fight for me, by the living God, you'll fight for Jannet Dunbar and her bairns; which you have already sufficiently under my hand."

The Major having come to wait of my Lady, let her see my Lord's answer to him. My Lady being seemed in a great concern, told the Major that she had a terror upon her how to behave, but at the same time told the Major that she knew him so well that he would not discover her, and the commands layed upon her be her Lord.

The Major assured her, *not*; my Lady presents her letter, which was those express words—

"My dear, I was necessitate to give a grant of the possession of Tamoch to my friend the Major, since I know his fidelity in standing by me; and that there is an absolute necessity upon me to have him in that country to keep off my ememies, till once I get myself fixed. Soe that if there be any place in the country you can fix him in for two or three years see to prevaile with him; since, as I told you before, I cannot depend on all the Frasers alive, soe much as on him. But as for the possession of Tamoch, set ye your foot a spar, that you will not yeild it; or otherwise if you doe, by the living God, you'll never have one night's peaceable possession, while you are my wife."

The Major seeing this letter, was in a consternation how to behave, but consulted the good lady what

method to take. And the method they fell upon was, that my Lady being very desirous to have the Major in the country, was to call for one Hugh Fraser, who was a minister's son, and lived in that country. The Major asked him if he was content to cede his possession to him. He being a poor simple man, and had lost all that he had in that possession, the poor man anwered he wished that he never had possessed it; and that with all his heart he would give it up to the Major; which accordingly he did under his hand in wryte.

This having taken air, be course of next post one William Fraser, commonly called William Roy, who was the main instrument who joyned the Marquess of Atholl, for banishing my Lord Lovat from his country

and took money several tymes for his blood (as I said before) upon the noise of the Major's taking that tack, he informs my Lord of the same at London.

You shall know how fickle and inconsistant with himself this nobleman is. He being informed that the Major had taken that tack, wrytes again to his Lady, in those very terms—

"My dear, am informed that the Major has gott the possession of Briuach [Bruiach]* from Hugh Fraser. You'll call for Hugh Fraser and tell him from me, if he cedes his possession to the Major, that he may expect a totall ruin to himself and his family; and that he needs not expect ever to possess one inch of ground in my country."

Upon receipt of this letter my

* Bruiach is a farm upon the Lovat estates not far from Beaufort Castle, or Castle Dounie

Lady called for the Major, and let him see this letter. The Major then begg'd of my Lady not to call for Hugh Fraser, since he was designed in three day thereafter to be in possession; and that she might wryte to her Lord that his letter came too late, and the Major was in possession before his letter came to her hand.

My Lord having come from London in the month of October thereafter, the Major, being then very much cooled, let his Lordship settle some tyme at home, before he made him a visit. But in end, having met the Jesuite, he appeared as much so as ever: and for vows and protestations from him, there was no scarcity of them. He told the Major that he was designed to joyne him and Alex. Fraser of Phopachy

to be his factors of the estate, since he was designed to go for London very soon. And that he had none in the world he could trust to, so much as them two.

To this the Major made no answer, but Phopachy being called, who was a man of a long head, and something mercenary for his own designs, he being brother-in-law to the Major, soon prevailed with the poor Major to joyne him in that factory; which, to my certain knowledge, the Major had no intention ever to serve that great man in any station, considering what he met with before, both at home and abroad.

The factors having begun the next spring thereafter to collect some victuall for the use of the family, my Lord being at London wrote home

to his Lady, desiring that the Major should desist from the factory, and that Phopachy should continue. This being done, the Major seemed well pleased, since he knew that little intromissions was best for that man.

This happened about the Candlemass time. The Major being hurried about the setting down of the first crop in his new possession, had got a charge of removal from his Chief, and express orders sent to my Lady Lovat by her Lord, desiring that if he was not at home, that against the term of Whitsunday, she to come with a party, and to dispossess the Major. My good Lady, who had no byways, nor none of the Jesuite in her view, sent for the Major, and let him see this letter.

The Major told her, he wished

my Lord had come himself, before Whitsunday, and that he would be the person to lead that party to dispossess the Major; and told my Lady that as he, the Major, was partly instrumentall in bringing that ungratfull monster from his exile, he would think it a meritorious action to dispatch him to his purgatery, which, as he was sure of, would be his end. And also told my Lady he was sorry to express himself after such a manner to a Lady of merit, as she was, but that he was affraid she would be of his thoughts, before she would be seven years his wife.

It happened that before this term of Whitsunday his Lordship was come home; and, as it is ordinary, the 15 day of May, over all that countrys, to send a load by way of a symboll of flitting, my Lord

ordered that day his officer with a small party of his servants, to go and take possession of the Major's house; and withall to tell him, that againe [against] that 15 days he should remove; and if he did not, with this certification, that he in person, with a greater party, would be in the heart of his house. The officer having come with his party in sight of the Major's house, and the Major being informed of their coming, sent his wife with a good body of women with staves, and met the officer be the way with his party, and beat them in to their master's door.

This incensed his Lordship, that he swore revenge; but he was so unlucky, that during the space of four years, thereafter, he could not

comand as many men in his country as could venter to come along with him to dispossess the Major, he being so well loved in that country. In end, when he saw himself affronted, he sent for the Major's brothers, and begged with them to prevail with the Major to leave his country. The brothers answered my Lord—

"That all the neighbouring countrys were very much surprised of his bad treatment of their brother, who ventered his all for his lordship, when no Fraser alive would, considering that he pays his duty as punctually as any man in your country."

However his Lordship insisted that of necessity he behoved to remove, assigning no reason for it. Then the brothers called the

Major, and told him what had passed. The Major answered that—

"Since I must remove, my oldest son wants a possession, and since he will be nothing but a countryman, let your Chief give him my possession; and upon those terms I'll cede my possession; and on no other terms."

This being reported to his Lordship, he immediatly condescended to give him three years of that possession purposly to have his father out of the country. The Major then, not knowing of any country possession, had no other shift but to go and live within the town of Inverness, with his numerous family, children and grandchildren, for the benefit of their education.

He having no rents, was neces-

sitate to take up a publick house, which was entirely against his graine. But necessity has no law; and where he has continued now near eight years. When he had spent the little stock he had upon his family in that place, which was all owing to his Chief for removing him first out of his *wadsett*, and forcing him next out of his country. And had his persecution ended with this, it had been less matter, but after the Major was settled at Inverness, he entered a prosecution against him for the small intromissions he had by his factory (as I said before) the Major finding he was not able to go to law with him, brought it to a reference of four gentlemen, who had chosen the honble. Baron of Kilravock as oversman.

The Major gave in his claim, craving of Lord Lovat to pay board for his brother Mr John, who was 27 weeks with his servant at the Major's house *incognito*, when the Major was at France, seeking my Lord home. And 2do. the Major craved that he should be considered for Mr John's expences, who lay 9 weeks at his house in the year 1716, with a great confluence of people about him, and Doctors attending him till he dy'd there.

My Lord's answer to the whole was, that if the Major had anything under his hand for his brother's maintenance, he would allow it; but in no other shape. The gentlemen arbiters being confounded at this piece of ingratitude, left it wholly to the oversman, who was

a man of honour, conscience, and equity, and who found the Major to be the party lesed. And discerned that the Major ought and should be considered in damages, labour, and expences. But named no sum, so that this affaire is a-sleeping to this day; and for ought I know, will do till the day of Judgement.

I might enlarged much more had time allowed me than what I have done, but I must own, as a Christian, that I would be ashamed to set furth to the world the true character, and a great many other actions, that I have not named here, of this man's life and behaviour. And I conclude, but as Claranton did of Oliver Cromwell, that he was a *great, wicked man.*

As to the first, I can not say he's

great, since he cannot reward any good services done him ; but to the contrary, return evil for good. And not capable to forgive injurys, but as far as suits his own privat interest and designs.

L ENVOY.

"The thorns which I have reaped are of the tree
I planted—they have torn me, and I bleed;
I should have known what fruit would spring from such a seed."

L'ENVOY.

IT is known that till within a few years of the Rebellion of 1745, Lord Lovat was writing in his most envenomed style regarding his adversaries: the tooth of his sarcasm had lost nothing of its sharpness.

Two hateful names were burnt upon his inmost soul. "Arcades ambo" — the rest of the famous

line was still deep in futurity, but the idea was ever present with the Chief.

Albeit, Phopachy was dead, and the *wadset**, under which his family had held their lands for upwards of 150 years, redeemed. His place was filled by his son, as great a rascal as his father—Lovat said.

Still drifting with the stream of time, we come again, a few years after the close of the Narrative, upon the Major and the Chief, now more bitter foes than ever. A series of very interesting letters†, recently brought to light, incidentally shows the earnestness with which Lovat

* A *wadset* is a conveyance of land in pledge, and is somewhat analogous to a mortgage ; but in time a wadset assumed the form of a more absolute conveyance.—See *Bell's Law Dictionary*.

† See *The Chiefs of Grant*, by Sir W. Fraser, K.C.B. Edin., 1883.

sought to impress upon his friends the one-fold character of his life, and the blackness of the charges brought against him. The following extracts need little comment. Under date "Beaufort ye 6t of May 1737," Lord Lovat writes to Sir James Grant of Grant—

"The known notorious common lyar and monster of ingratitude Major Cracks came to Inverness three nights ago, and he did not deny to a friend of mine and his own that he made complaints of me to the Earle etc. It is the greatest tryal that ever my patience met with, that I do not yield to my just passion in allowing his nose and his ears to be cut of. No man ever deserv'd it so much; but I will indeavour to keep my temper, at least till I writ to the Earle when I know his hurry is over.

"I will make a faithful memorial with the true history of this ruffian sinc I

knew him; and if after that the Earle grants him his countenance or any favour I may than say to all mankind that I am us'd like a desspicable scoundrel, and that a common lying madman is used as if he was Lord Lovat.

"But let this calumnious villain say what he will, I know the Earle hes too much good sence and too much experience of my fidelity to him that he will not really believe him or any body els, till he first examine me upon the head. . . . You know what you would expect from me if any was attacking you, and I expect that you will show yourself my friend to vindicat me against the lyes of this rodomontade ruffian."

Again, on the 13. May, his Lordship addresses the same gentleman—

"The infamous, unatural and most ungrateful knight of the post is come home in great pomp. . . . He blusters out openly, and says he has done my

business, and swears that a single letter under his hand to the Peer can break me at any time he pleases. When his brother, Ballown, and his neveu, Culduthell, heard this proven against him they were almost mad and curs'd the hour that ever he was born and swore they would drag him to the gallows with their own hands, and I am very sure if I convein'd my kindred and gave them an account of his treachery against me it would not be in my power to save him from being cut in 100 pieces. In the meantime I cannot comprehend how the Peer, the great man on earth that I trusted most to, could believe any man of the race of Adam that would tell an ill thing of me. But that he (Lord Ilay) should give ear to a known lyar and an impudent rhodomontad that no street boy in Inverness that knows him would believe a word he said, surpasses my imagination."*

Before the end of the same month Lovat thought fit to write to the

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii. pp. 350-1

Earl of Islay on the same subject, in vindication of his loyalty, and services to the Government; at the same time mentioning that the Major had deemed it proper to send him a challenge, but could get no one to carry it, so disgusted was "his brother Culduthel and others with his rodomontad way of living."

Continuing his complaints of the calumnies of James Fraser, he writes in December of the same year, to the Laird of Grant—

"They told me that this young Phopachy and a brother that he has in London, an apothecary, are the greatest fomentors of his going to London to do me hurt at Court, because of the several just processes I have against Phopachy."*

This Apothecary, a younger son of the "hellish knave," is referred to

* *Ibidem*, vol. ii. p. 360.

in several of the Chief's letters at this time; for example, he says—

"They did chuse for the instrument of their malice . . . a brother of Phopachy's, who is an Apothecary at London, whom I pursue equally with his brother for the plunder of my house, to be the persons that would inform the Ministery of my treasonable practises."*

He figures very prominently, it will be seen, in the very last scenes of Lovat's life.

One of the most unpleasant incidents in Lord Lovat's career is the part he played in connection with the election of Member of Parliament for Inverness-shire, as mentioned by Major Fraser. John Forbes of Culloden had long held that position fortified with all Lord Lovat's influence. But the Chief,

* Lovat to Ludovic Grant, younger of Grant. *Ibidem.*, vol. ii. p. 364.

finding that his services did not meet with the return he expected from a grateful Government, determined to let his importance be felt by withdrawing his support from the Culloden family: the blow to the Laird of Culloden which the success of these measures caused was such as he never got over. Naturally this unkindest cut was deeply felt by Duncan Forbes, the Lord Advocate.

While these charges and countercharges were being bandied about between the Chief and certain of his followers, foremost among whom were Foyres, Struy, and Phopachy the younger, this most estimable man had been elevated to the office of President of the Court of Session. The Chief, grown desperate with the assaults upon his honesty of

purpose, at last had the audacity to father upon Duncan Forbes, the recently appointed Lord President, the calumnies he had hitherto identified with the Major and his supporters. The meeting between Lovat and Duncan Forbes, as described by the Chief himself in a letter to the Laird of Grant, shews how reckless he had become with his accusations :—

"After dinner Major Caulfield . . came in and told the Governor" (of Inverness with whom he was dining) "that the President was just coming to see him. . . . I stayed till he came in and I think it was the first time I behav'd very unmannerly since I came from France, for I did not as much as make a bow to him, nor take no more notice of him than of a broom stick. The Governor drank my health. The President drank it with a low bow. Then the Governor

drank the President's health and I made a bow to him and drunk it. . . . . So the first judge in Scotland saw that the Lord Lovat scorned to make advances to him after his mad malicious practices to hurt my person, reputation, and interest. All the country and town are now convinced that he was the contriver and promoter of all Castle Ladder's villanous lyes; for that infamous villain, that all honest men now shun to converse with, is one of the great favorits at Culloden," etc.

This took place in May 1738. Till near the end of 1740 we read of the same anxiety on the part of the Chief to shew well in the eyes of the Government, and of the same envenomed abuse of all opposed to him.

To Charles Fraser of Inverallochy he says in March of that year :—

"My persecution begins to be

very smart by the villanous lyes of Castle-elders" (*sic*). To the same correspondent he writes of an interview he had held with Lord Islay: "The Earle blush'd much, and look'd down; I suppose that Castle-elders came in his mind."*

When remonstrated with by the Laird of Grant in respect of this bitterness against his followers, Lovat writes that "there is not a Chief in Scotland more beloved or obeyed by his kinsmen than I am" . . . . "except the two known knaves," etc.

Again and again he insists on the affection of the gentlemen of his clan, but, he adds, "Foyres, Struy, and Phopachie are Castle-Leddar's heroes."† The paragraphs in which

* *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 5.
† *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii. p. 384.

he disposes of these, his unworthy followers, read with all the crispness of a "leaderette."

The part that Lovat played in the Rebellion of 1745 is well known, and needs little in the way of comment.

It was, I believe, Mr Matthew Arnold who said that the function of the Statesman had been, in our day, reduced to "the cult of the jumping cat;" the most successful, he who has the keenest instinct of "the way she means to jump, and most encourages her in jumping." Simon Fraser was fain to try his hand at this precious theory of statesmanship; but in practice he was, as usual, half-hearted. In the '15 with some little success the device had been tried in Scotland of the head of the family lying by

quietly, while the sons were suffered to join in the Rebellion, so that, in accordance with the worldly wisdom stamped on a Manx penny, the house should not utterly fall whate'er might betide the rightful heir to the throne.

The Chief did his best to hoodwink his old friend and faithful guide, Lord President Forbes, with letters which are studies of duplicity; while at the same time his son Simon, the Master of Lovat, was—much against his will—put forward to support the character of a reckless young enthusiast burning with zeal for Prince Charles Edward, and unmindful of his father's injunctions on the score of loyalty to the Government, which had done so much for him.

The battle of Prestonpans was

the turning-point in Lovat's policy. Shortly thereafter he threw off the mask.

At Culloden Inverallochy led part of the Clan into action, arriving late in the day: and there the gallant young gentleman fell.

Probably never was a battle—or a kingdom—lost through such absolute rashness, and neglect of the most common precautions as were displayed by those in command of the Jacobite forces.

The rest of the miserable story is painful to read; the Prince's flight and interview with the aged rebel, and Lovat, in his distressful efforts to find a place of safety, stopping for a brief moment to witness the distant landscape illuminated by the flames of Castle Dounie, burnt by Cumberland's soldiers. It is im-

possible not to feel pity for this frail and suffering old man pressed by his hunters, and, at last, dragged from his wretched hiding-place in a hollow tree.

Needless to say Major Fraser did not join the Chief in the last rash enterprise. But he did not step into the background. With characteristic self-possession he seems to have brought himself, or to have been brought, under the eye of the of the Duke of Cumberland as a man whose activity and intelligence were likely to be of use.

At all events within less than a month of Lovat's capture our friend, the Major, was installed as manager of the whole of the Lovat estates for the King's government, and supply of the forces. The commission empowering him to act in this capacity is under

the Duke of Cumberland's own seal.*

Lovat having been tried by the Peers of Great Britain, and convicted on ample evidence, it only remained to bring him forth from his prison to the scaffold on Towerhill, to make a London holiday.

The details of Lovat's last moments have often been narrated. They seem to have been taken, in every instance, from a pamphlet† now somewhat rare, purporting to be written by a friend of his who had attended

* See Appendix No. VII.

† "*A Candid and Impartial Account of the Behavior of Simon Lord Lovat from the time of his Death warrant was delivered to the Day of his Execution: together with a faithful narrative of the particular Incidents which happened that Day, in the Tower, in the Sherriff's Apartment, and the Scaffold.*"

By a gentleman who attended his Lordship in his last Moments. London 1747. Pp. 32. Price Sixpence.

him to the very last. The writer evidently knew Lord Lovat well.

It is of interest to learn that notwithstanding all that had come and gone the old man was not left without the comfort of friends, in his extremity. In the pamphlet mentioned the events of the last days are given somewhat in the manner of a journal. Under the heading "Wednesday," it is stated—"Mr William Fraser, his Lordship's Agent, and Mr James Fraser came to visit him at the same time, with whom he talked a good while concerning his Family affairs, and the management of his Funeral" (p. 9).

The former of these gentlemen was of course Lovat's "doer" already mentioned, brother to Dumballoch, otherwise "little Willie Fraser," who

with "his very pretty smart wife," had formerly had some charge of Simon, Lovat's eldest son, in Edinburgh.

It was thought at one time that the James Fraser here spoken of might possibly have been "the Major:" it is nowhere said who he was.

Through the kindness of Lieutenant-General G. B. Milman, C.B., Major of the Tower, I am enabled to state, on authority, who the persons were that attended Lord Lovat during his last days. And it is pleasant to observe that one of these, namely James Fraser, was one of the persons classed by Lovat as the off-scourings of the earth, and only in a little degree less vile than Phopachy and Castle-leathers. Indeed the gentleman in question, it now appears, was the brother of

Phopachy, the younger ; the London Apothecary already mentioned.

The following is the extract from the Records in the Tower :—

"Die Martis, 24 *March* 1746-7.

"Upon reading the Petition of Simon late Lord Fraser of Lovat, setting forth, that Mr Forester, Mr Charles Hamilton Gordon, Councils, and Mr William Fraser Sollicitor were assigned and permitted to have access to him in the Tower, and praying that the said persons together with Sir Henry Monro, Sir Ludovick Grant, and James Fraser Apothecary in Craven Street, all his relations and particular friends may have admittance to him.

It is ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that the said several persons above named be at liberty to have access to the Petitioner at all seasonable times, provided that no more than Two of the said

persons be at one time admitted to Him."

ASHLEY COWPER.
*Clerk Parliamentor:**

It is recorded in the tract above-mentioned how, in the last few minutes of his life, Lord Lovat handed to Mr William Fraser—as all he possessed on earth—his cane, at the same time bidding him farewell. And, it is added—"His Lordship now called for Mr James Fraser, and embraced him," and also said—"My dear James, I am going to Heaven, but you must continue to crawl a little longer in this evil world."

* Lord Campbell (*Lives of the Chancellors*) in mentioning Lord Erskine's commission as Ensign, notes, as worthy of commendation, that he was furnished with the information he required from the War Office in so many hours. It says much for the manner in which the Tower records are at present kept, as well as for Lieutenant-General Milman's courtesy, that the particulars here given, besides other interesting details, were supplied to the present writer almost *by return of post.*

It would have been a picturesque and poetical ending to this tale could it have been shewn that either of the two clansmen, so much maligned, had ministered to the Chief in his last moments. But Phopachy was dead, as has been said; his place, however, was taken in a manner very becoming by his son, as we have seen.

The Major was old, and the journey from Inverness to London, even had circumstances permitted it, a very serious undertaking, requiring much money and bodily strength. Happily he is seen once more *in propria personâ* before the curtain falls; and the feelings he expresses with regard to his old Chief, or enemy as he was at one time, are such as are creditable to "our Author."

Lovat had been dead some five

years or so, and by calculation the Major must have been 82 years of age, when it seems to have been thought desirable that some really authentic record of Simon Fraser's life and times should be written while certain of the actors in the story and eye-witnesses remained. Probably it was felt that most of the more-or-less apocryphal pamphlets then in circulation were not quite satisfactory. Therefore, old Major Fraser was approached with this view.

The Rev. Donald Fraser,* Minister of Killearnan, who had been tutor to Lord Lovat's children,

* The Revd. Donald Fraser is described as the "old Chaplain" of Lord Lovat. When, in Nov. 1745, it was the Lord President's wish that Lovat should shew plainly his attachment to the Government, he commissioned Mr Fraser to urge the matter on Lovat. A copy of the

wrote to him asking his assistance, and particulars of their late Chief's life. The Major's reply is interesting and characteristic. It shews that time, and a loyal nature, had toned down angry thoughts, and the memory of much that had been cruelly felt, but was now best forgotten. Thus he writes—

"Reverend Sir—I received your letter 18th ulto wherein you tell me that you are in a strait about several circumstances relating to my Lord Lovat's Actings in the Country here and elsewhere. I'll be so selfish, tho' I be not a head piece, that no true history can be wrote of him without me, with Regard to his Conduct at home and abroad; since I was the first man that took

memorandum of instructions may be found in the *Culloden Papers*. This drew from the Chief a very long and artful letter to the President, who could hardly have been taken in by its plausibilities. See *Culloden Papers*, p. 240-2.

Arms with him when he took on to be Chief; and in case that my days may be cut off before I see you, I make you my ffather Confessor: May that God who is Judge of us all and of our actings, that he may be as willing to Receive my soul as I was to suport your Chief's ffamily from the first day to the last; only my passion when I was ill used might occasion me to speak rashly only from the Teeth outward.

"As to write you the heads of particulars that you want it is not in my power without I begin from the very foundation, which was his taking his Arms in the '97, and what I had fresh in memory since that time, and what I have been Eye Witness to, would take a quair of paper if a part of it was abridged. However in case the Lord may spare us both till the season come in I shall see you at your own house when we shall Consert matters.

"I make offer of my love and service to honest ffather, Daughter, your

Bedfellow, wishing you both a happy new Year; and believe me to be

"Yours at Comand

"J. FFRASER.

"*Inshoch 21st Janry.* 1751/2."*

From the day of Lord Lovat's condemnation till this present hour, his case has been used for the pointing of morals, and to hang reflections on. His character has been discussed and analysed with infinite variety of acumen.

A London correspondent, a few hours before Lovat's execution, writes thus to a gentleman at Dumfries. Few will gainsay the truth of his philosophy—

"Lord Lovat is to lose his Head in a few Hours, and the day being rainy is

* Through the courtesy of Mr William Mackay, Craigmonie, Inverness, I am enabled to produce this interesting letter. He believes that it was written from Inshoch, near Forres.

like to prove a great disappointment to the Crouds that are hastening to see the Execution. . . . Perhaps such tragical scenes may do good to somebody: and tho' this old man be highly guilty and his guilt very inexcusable, yet a Considerate spectator cannot but be led to pity and bewail the Corruption and Infatuation of human nature when he sees a man almost at the utmost period of human life, under no necessitous circumstances, on the contrary, with a plentiful Fortune and everything he could reasonably desire without any danger of losing it; and yet not content therewith, he must disturb the peace of his Country and endeavour to overthrow the Constitution thereof. Men should consider that when they are endeavouring to break down Hedges a serpent may bite them."*

There was not wanting, moreover,

* Autograph letter from John Gibson to Matthew Sharpe of Hoddom, Esqre.—*Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's Collection.*

the notoriety that finds expression in doggerel verse.*

Mrs Grant of Laggan, in a characteristic MS., formerly belonging to Dr Chambers, gives the Highland estimate of Simon Fraser as held in her day, differing in little from that of the writer in the *Quarterly Review* of the early part of this century, who attributed to "Mac Shimi" "the Arts of a Machiavel with the tyranny of a Cæsar Borgia;"—indeed, Sir Walter

* "Now comes Lord Lovat, an aged man,
And Chief of all the Frasers' Clan,
And ask'd from whence such law could come
As punish a father for the son.
And did not see what they could do,
As he 'gainst George his sword ne'er drew.
. . . . . .
That if his person were attack'd,
His foes should be in collops hack'd—
Such were the brags in a letter sent,
Was writ unto Lord President."

See *Impartial History of the Rebellion*, by Dugal Graham, Skellat Bell-man of Glasgow. 8th Ed., 1808.

Scott seems to have followed Mrs Grant's estimate pretty closely—or that of Mount Stuart Elphinstone, who knew an Afghan chief, the "absolute duplicate of Simon Fraser in ferocity, cunning, and plausibility."

Perhaps this plain Narrative may afford additional data for the formation of a candid judgment.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

LORD LOVAT'S AGE.

THERE are several incidents in Simon Fraser's life fully to understand which it is desirable to have some idea of his age. There are great discrepancies in dates. His birth has been placed within a range of years between 1667 and 1676. Dr Hill Burton *(Life of Lovat*, p. 1) mentions the great uncertainty in this matter of his hero's age; but "relies on his own statement at his trial, and the inscription on his coffin;" and fixes the date of his birth as 1676. But what was stated at the trial would make him about seventy-one at that time: while the words on the coffin were "Decollat. Ætat. Suæ 80."

This inscription Lovat himself read and apparently did not call in question. He only quoted an apt line from Ovid on the vanity of life. But elsewhere his Lordship had been very precise in his

statements on this point. When he had occasion to controvert what Lockhart of Carnwath had written regarding him he mentioned three separate incidents in his career with his age at each period. These point to 1676. Amongst other things he states that he was "imprisoned for his exertions in the royal cause at the age of thirteen years." (His own *Memoirs*, p. 221–22.) But unfortunately Lord Lovat is not always the best authority to follow in a matter of this kind.

Very recently, however, unexpected light has been cast on this subject. Mr P. J. Anderson, Secretary of the New Spalding Club, has discovered a fragmentary register of entrants and graduates at Aberdeen University from 1668 to 1687, which is interesting chiefly from the fact that in it appears mention of Simon Fraser of Beaufort, and his elder brother, Alexander, who died young. The entries in the University records, copies of which Mr Anderson has kindly sent to me, run thus—

"Anno 1678. In album collegii regii . . . recepti sunt . . . Alexander Fraser de Beaufort . . . ."

"Anno 1679. In album . . . Hisce accesserunt anno secundo, Alexander Fraser de Bewfort, Simon Fraser ejusdem frater."

"Anno 1683, Maij 25. . . .
"Allexr. Fraser.
"Simon ffraser."

The last two names are autographs appended to the Oath of Allegiance subscribed each year by all "scholars graduate in the said colledge." It thus appears that Alexander was a student of the first year in 1678-79, and of the second year in 1680-81 (not 1679-80) when he was joined by his younger brother, Simon; and that both brothers took the degree of M.A. in 1683.*

Now, it is well known that, of old, boys entered the Scotch Universities very young. Perhaps the most extreme case that has been found is that of Gilbert Burnet (Bishop of Salisbury), who undoubtedly entered Marischal College—as I am informed—at *nine*. But to say that Simon Fraser (supposing him to be born in 1676) entered college life at *four*, emphatically, will not do. But these entries accord very well

* See Appendix No. VI., p. 199.

with the coffin plate inscription; making him twelve or thirteen at matriculation; and his birth about 1667; and—to return to the starting point—that he was about twenty-nine at the time of the Saltoun affair, and therefore perhaps four years, or five, younger than the Dowager Lady Lovat,* and not "in his nineteenth year" † as the rival theory demands.

* Conf. *Douglas' Peerage.*

† See *Reign of Queen Anne*, vol. i. p. 327. by Dr Hill Burton, Edin. 1880.

No. II.

DUNCAN FORBES OF CULLODEN, AND "TAPPIT HENS."

THERE is reason to think that both Lovat and Duncan Forbes were somewhat of the "old school" in many of their ideas. Captain Burt, whose *Letters from the North of Scotland* are understood to be, in date, of about the year 1725, had ample experience of the hospitality of Culloden House, and seems to have been of this opinion.

He describes the drinking customs that obtained there with the graphic detail of a traveller in a barbarous land.

The following letter, from the *Pitfirrane MSS.*, written by Duncan Forbes to his friend Mr John McFarlane, W.S., if it does not shew the wisdom of the Lord Advocate, and Lord President to be, at all events proves the truth of the ancient adage, "*Poculum mane haustum restaurat naturam*," etc.—

"INVERNESSE, 8 *April*, 1715.

"DEAR JOHN,—When friends separated give it mutually under their hands to each other that they are well, I do not know but they may be said to shake hands at a distance, and it is for the sake of that pleasure that I provoke you in this manner to prove that your fingers have not taken cramp by throwing out as much ink on a sheet of letter paper as I do on this.

"News to entertain you from so northern a climate as this can not be expected, and yet I find a violent inclination to make my letter as long as the paper I have folded. Wherefor you must even be satisfied with knowing what I know since I saw you, which is no more than the common Incidents of a foolish Journey.

"After I mist you at 12 o'clock Tuesday at your Lodgings and found that our Comrads had not appeared since the Tapped hens* of the last

* Readers of *Waverley* will doubtless remember the occasion on which, as related, at a hint from the Laird of Balmawhapple, "Luckie Macleary appeared with a huge pewter measuring pot containing at least three English quarts, familiarly denominated a *Tappit*

night in Number ii., I lookt out our friend Phyz Aikman, with whom I took coach for Leith. We jogged along't cursing the tapped hens, complaining of headakes and yawning out our real sorrow for parting.

"Arrived at Leith we inquired after the tide and begun to solace ourselves over some Rennish and sugar, when wee were interrupted by a certain Dull noisie Impertinent Drunken young Laird who professed his joy that I was to be his fellow traveller. I own I was somewhat concerned at this Declaration of war; but there was no help for it, the best countenance was put on and after drinking a good deal of noisome wine, sometimes in his Chamber sometimes in mine, the boatman call'd and aboard I went with my Coxcomb.

"Sail sett, the wind very spitefully fell and by a longsome passage made way for a tedious persecution from my fool, who had not good Nature eneugh to grow sick or —— for my relief. He

Hen, which in the language of the hostess reamed (*i.e.*, mantled) with excellent claret just drawn from the cask," and the remarkable scene that followed. See vol. i. p. 188, ed. of 1877.

told me and all the passengers how very pretty a fellow I was; how well he lov'd me and how much I doated on him, but his Impertinence was the more troublesome that by my situation I was tyed to him; the boat was narrow and I could not swim, so that I was necessitated to smother my concern and satisfy myself with cursing all boats for the Difficulty of making one's escape from them.

"When we got over the ferry* I was so cunning as to order matters so that his Baggage and himself were brought to one Inn, and I with my cousin, Mr Forbes, to one other; then I blest myself for the Deliverance, but upon Examination found that added to the Indisposition which hung over me all day a sore throat had seized me, partly by last night's sitting up and partly by cold catcht at sea; however my mind being at rest in having Dispatcht my Coxcomb, I was easy eneugh and just setting about a Cure of my fashion when to my deep affliction I saw my Lord Companion enter the room swearing and cursing at his Servants for having led him away to a wrong house

* Probably to Pettycur, in Fifeshire.

where he had not the pleasure of enjoying his dear Friend, and commanding them forthwith to transport his Baggage.

"A while I stood surprised but recollecting myself made him welcom with a good Grace, ill imitated, excused his Servants, and told him there were no more beds in that house untaken up. But he said there was nothing in that, and that for my Company's sake he would take a share of mine, so ordered again his Baggage to be brought him; this threatning was yett more terrible to me than any other, so I call'd him aside and told him I had got the itch. 'Ho,' says he, 'there's nothing in that neither, for look'ee I have got it worse than you.' 'Well but,' says I, affecting a sly smile, 'there's more in it than you imagine. . . .'

"Reduced to my last shift and perplexed betwixt my sore throat and my fool I began to balance whether it was better to suffer his impertinence and take care of my throat or risque the throat and drown the Beast in Drink. The last resolution prevailed, so to work I went and by the assistance of mighty bumpers in two hours time overthrew the Dragon and made a Creature speech-

less for a night, who by rights never should have spoken.

"The task performed, I ordered his Servants to carry him to his own bed and to tell him that I was to lye abed till 12 and then to take a Road different from his, which had so good effect mixed with the shame of his Discomfiture that he took horse by five in the morning, and I saw no more of him.

"This Historicall stile I perceive is so ample for my paper wherefor I find myself oblieged to give you the remainder of my journey, Journal ways:—

"'Wednesday 30th. Awaked; query, a sore throat? Difficulty in swallowing a spittle; curs'd all stoups from the tapped hen down to the half-gill; moaned of my bed; rose up bt. [about] 9. Bathed in cold water; chaffed my throat with Hungary water; tryed to apply Brandy inwardly but in vain, could drink no wine, walked about till twelve. Doubtfull what Road to take. Resolved to go the Low Road for fear of a Squeenzy [Quinsy?] and because I could not drink with the father at Perth, nor see him without drinking.

"'Took horse fasting: was often asked

by my Cousin on the Rode how I did. Could not answer without pain. Sung none; attempted kindly twice in vain. Had severall wise Reflections which almost came to Resolutions.

"'Shut my lips against the Air and against vows; thought on my friends in Edinburgh. Came to Coupar at 3. Eat none. Could not swallow a dram—made my Landlord do it for me. Saw my Cousin drink two botles of wine. My teeth watered. Took horse at 4. Rode to Dundee water silent and philosophicall; some moral speculations which I forgett. Cross'd the Ferry with a Bailly who knew me; call'd me Shirref and fancyed I despised him because I did not talk.

"'Made the Bailly drink a botle of wine. Saw my friend drink 2 or 3 with great contentment. Fancyed I was become John Kennedy. Prepared slabs of Butter'd ale* and Souins† for myself. Went to bed without a dram; happt myself weel up. Sleapt sound.

"'Thursday 31. Waken'd much better

* Buttered Ale, a sort of posset.

† Sowans, a dish in the form of jelly, made from the inside husks of oats.

than yesterday, found I could speak and sing. Drest. Call'd for a dram to try if I could swallow it; found it go over bravely. Repeated the experiment; got some meat; drank white wine. Took horse; humm'd over some songs gently; at last attempted the *Dragon of Wantly;* slew him severall times, and was very weel pleased with myself.

"'Lighted at a vile Inn to bate. No Brandy; bad ale; out of humour with the Landlord. Made him drunk of his own ale in revenge; thought with regrate on No. i. Went to horse; the day windy. Durst not sing with open mouth. Thought over a good dale of the winter's Diversions. Came to Fettercairn; everything very good there. Saw my cousin deal in wine. Durst not drink with him. Supt; drunk some dramers; went to bed.

"'Friday 1st April. Waken'd very weel; primed largely with dramers; proceeded on my journey cheerfully. Went to St..* Ball. Slew the *Dragon of Wantly* very often. Repeated all the

* Illegible in the original. Sir Arthur Halkett, on comparing the proof with the letter, suggests "Stool Ball," an Easter game common in England at the time.

dullness I was master of. Alighted at a very drunken Landlord's house. Made him exceeding drunk of Brandy and villanous Beer. Left a *Courant* with him a year old for News. Took horse again by three; went on my Journey with an open mouth and joyfull voice; had the tother stroke at the *Dragon*. Came safe to our Lodging; Ale bad, Brandy indifferent, hens tough; found 3 lemons in my clok bagg; made a litle punch; took a dram after it. Went to a bad Bed.

"'Saturday the 2nd. Arose early; took 2 dramers; made the Landlord drink a double gill; proceeded gateward in my afores'd manner. Din'd at 2; good wine. A drunken Landlord; wine too expensive to do his business; slapt some Brandy in strong ale which finish'd him. Took horse at 3. Minded it was Saturday. Thought on the Phyza; murdre'd some of her songs. Came at night to the house of Innes;* the Laird out of humour that his wine had expend'd the day before. His wife, my

* Joan Forbes, second daughter of the Laird of Culloden, married Sir Harry Innes, Bart. of Innes, Co. Elgin. Their grandson was the 5th Duke of Roxburgh.

sister cherishes him by letting him know she had a Riddell* for me. Supt; rejoised over 9 Botles of wine; the Laird drunk; went to bed.

"'Sunday 3rd. Very unwilling to rise least I should be haled to church; hurryed, however, out of bed; led like a boar on a string to the sermon; preaching very brief because the Teacher was Sick; some reflections in the meantime on Bohea Tea and the Phyzes.† Returned. Many questions about News and politicks. Supt; Drunk 10 botles of wine, besides strong ale; went to bed.

"'Monday: waken'd somewhat indisposed; drunk brandy and slockened; was offer'd Bohea, preferr'd Beef. Went to Elgin. Drunk with severall people, and particularly 5 pints of wine with the provost. Went to another Sister's house; more news and politicks. Drunk punch. Fresh salmon very good; went to bed not without a dram.

"'Tuesday; visited severall friends. Rejoiced that I was so near home; re-

* Usually one dozen of bottles, sometimes more.

† Traces of this occult joke, and play on the word "physical," are found in other letters of the same correspondents and their friends.

gretted the want of the company I left at Edinburgh. Resolv'd to be very sober. Arrived at my Mother's house; saw the good old woman roar for joy; saw my little Bratt; was very weel pleased. Kissed the boy. Kissed him again. Blushed for my fondness. Asked him if he was not a Rogue, and lookt about on the company. . . .'

"DUN. FORBES.

"Give my Service to all the Phyzes if you will you may show this to Phyz Aikman to whom my next shall be addresed. I need not bid you mind me to the Phyza. Shee'l probably see this and in it shee'l find written that upon examination, I have concluded that I love her better than I do a Beef stake with a claret sauce."

It was, in all probability, in reply to the above unique communication that Mr John McFarlane wrote on the 21st of the same month to Duncan Forbes of the decay of all hilarity since his departure from Edinburgh; adding with some neatness and felicity—"A *Tappit Hen*, a bird as peculiar to you as an Eagle to Jove, has not been seen among us since that event."

No. III.

THE TRAGEDY OF STEELE'S CLOSE.

THIS affair, "one of the most inexplicable that ever happened in Scotland," has gained additional interest from the fact of an incident in the drama, recalled by one of Sir Walter Scott's relatives, having furnished the motif of a picturesque scene in "Peveril of the Peak" (chap. v. p. 32); namely, that where the "little Peveril" and Alice Bridgnorth by accident discover the hiding-place of the fugitive Countess of Derby.

The unhappy lady is described by Sir Walter Scott in his Notes to "Peveril" as "a young woman of extreme beauty who had been married to an old man, a writer named McFarlane. Her situation," he adds, "and perhaps her manners, gave courage to some who desired to be accounted her suitors."

Among these was a young Englishman named Cayley, one of the Commissioners

of Customs—not, as Sir Walter Scott has stated, a Commissioner upon the Estates Forfeited in the Rebellion of 1715. It seems that Mr Cayley, on the occasion in question, visited the lady at her house in the afternoon. They quarrelled; either on account of his having offered her some gross violence, or for some other reason unexplained. The current opinion was that the former was the true cause of the tragedy. And Mrs McFarlane, it was related, seized a pair of pistols which lay loaded in a closet, her husband intending to take them on a journey, and with them shot Commissioner Cayley dead.

Public sympathy was much with the insulted lady. The circumstances of the case, as disclosed by the precognitions taken, are not easily explicable. For example, it was alleged that Mrs McFarlane at the time in question had left the room where Cayley was, and gone into another to fetch the pistols, with which she returned, instead of making her escape or calling for assistance, her servant being in the house at the time. Her husband, of course, when he arrived on the scene about five o'clock

in the afternoon, made it his first concern to provide a safe retreat for his wife. Lord Lovat, in these letters to Mr McFarlane, while sympathising with his friend, perhaps only repeats what was the idea that afterwards prevailed, that there had been rashness combined with revenge in the lady's conduct, whatever may have been the cause of quarrel. Thus he writes, under date—

"BATH *ye* 13 *of Octobre* 1716.

"Dr. Sir I received yours this day & I am mightily troubled at ye tragical accident yt hapen'd in your house, for I take a particular interest in you and what concerns you and certainly nothing (*sic*) can be more sensible to you than such a cruel misfortune to fall in ye hands of yr Lady yt is so dear to you and so generally esteemed by all those yt have ye honour to be known to her. I doubt not but it will be easy to obtain her pardon. I have written to ye duke of Argyl and my Lord Isla of it this night. I am sure they will do all they can. . . . I entreat you do me ye honour to assure yr Lady of my humble service, and of my concern at her missfortune. I have

engaged Brig : Grant to writ this night to his ffnds [friends] under favours. I make no doubt of her pardon. But I am vex'd at yr grief and trouble it most give her and you, for I am as much as any body, Dr. Sir. . . ."

"HUNTINGTOUN. *ye* 21. *of Octobre* 1716.

"My cussing Ffoyers . . . . wrote me a letter last night wherein he tells me yt he did deliver my letter to ye duke of Argyl and to my Ld. Isla anent your Ladys missfortune and yt. they did bid him tell me there was no fear of her, for they hop'd to get her pardon, for she is generally respected, tho' blamed for such a violent revenge tho' yt mad barbarous unhapy man deserved it."

"*Octr. ye* 28. NEWCASTLE.

"I am just going to drink wth Coll. Ross and Capt. Grant yours and your destressed Lady's health. I hope she will be soon out of the trouble, I wish it wth all my heart."

It appears from contemporary testimony that Mrs McFarlane was, at this time, a young lady about nineteen or twenty years of age, "the daughter of

Colonel Charles Straiton, a gentleman of great honour, and grand-daughter by her mother of Sir Andrew Forrester."

There are a few further details of this case that are of interest and are believed to be new.

Sir Walter Scott has described how his grand-aunt, Mrs Margaret Swinton, related to him a memory of her childhood in substance the same as the incident mentioned at the beginning of "Peveril." Mrs McFarlane had fled to Swinton House, and lay there concealed for a while. "Her claim to refuge in Swinton," writes Sir Walter, "I do not know; it arose probably from some of the indescribable genealogical filaments which connect Scottish families."

This is likely to have been the case; and I venture to transcribe from the *Pitfirrane MSS.*, as being of interest, a letter written apparently by the much-vexed Mr McFarlane; it has no signature, but seems to be in his hand, addressed to Lady Swinton, one may suppose after his wife had, in her extremity, sought safety in flight to a refuge where her husband believed she would not be refused shelter—

"MADAM,—I presume to give you this trouble which I am persuaded will need no excuse with a lady of your character, than that it is necessary to the safety and happiness of one whom your Ladyship believes to be a virtuous and innocent woman. I have the misfortune to be a stranger to Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, tho I have the honour to be his relation, but the good opinion which the world has of him encourages me to beg the favour that your Ladyship would recommend to him the case of that poor young woman who, I bless God for it, is my wife, and I am sure her circumstances will not make the less impression upon him, that a husband is fully satisfied of her innocency, who is the most nearly concerned to know, what truth there is in all that scandal and calumny that is laid upon her—your ladyship has had occasion to know* all the circumstances of that misfortune which if you please you may communicate to him, that he may be fully

* See a long letter of Mr McFarlane's, minutely describing the circumstances of the tragedy, addressed to the Laird of Swinton, under date Octo. 13th 1716, in *The Swintons of that Ilk;* privately printed. Edin. 1883, pp. 89-91.

acquainted with the story, and may depend upon it for truth as I do, and the world cannot fancy that I have any interest to deceive them and myself.

"I own, Madam, that that poor Woman may be blamed that she went too far even in the cause of virtue and honour, a very quick and delicate sense of these, as it is of itself a very desirable quality, may however if unguarded, run a person into an error, but it is very much to be excused when one is sensible that a virtuous one cannot imagine herself in the circumstances of my poor wife, and at the same time have one regular thought to guide her actions, and much more must it be owned, when the thing is not imaginary but real.

"I had reason to fancy, and know not how it comes that I have been mistaken, that all your sex would use their influence to relieve one Woman from a misfortune which is wholly hers and mine, and whereby every virtuous woman must reap a benefit by the security it gives her honour from the base attempts of villainous men; there are indeed some ladies of that mind, and I wish for their own sakes there were a great many more who

had the same way of thinking with your Ladyship—It is said, and I believe with reason, that my Wife might very safely hazard a tryall, but that is not a way agreable either to ingenuity or honour, for her to owe her safety to a denyal. I would much rather owe it to the mercy of a Prince for whom I have already hazarded my life, and for whom my wife and I have lost whatever used to be naturally bestowed by parents to their daughter, and her husband. Your ladyship knows very well that my wife and I were in good friendship with her parents the last year of the Queen's reign, and nothing stop'd a total agreement but a discovery they then made of my principles, and my wife's change of hers, since which we have never been mentioned by them, but in form—tho' our behaviour towards them has always been so dutiful as to give them no other cause for such treatment. Its with a great deal of reluctance that I mention this to anybody, but I should be sorry to hear it said that whatever I have done and suffered for this Government, should not be able to plead for so just a favour, which in the common course of law

could be obtained by a tryall were it suitable to the dignity and honour of the Government and our credit to seek it, by that method whereby to give people occasion to make my zeal for his Majistie the subject of their scorn and ridicule.

" Few people will oppose that pardon when the whole story is made known to them, in the truth of which I have so much confidence as to promise never to concern myself with that unfortunate young woman if her enemies shall be able to disprove one article of the relation she herself gives, or to add one single circumstance that may make her more guilty than what she owns herself to be by her own account, and really it were an injury done to human reason to believe it would be otherwise than as she has told ; besides your ladyship and everybody she had the happiness to be acquainted with will give a great deal of faith to her ingenuity.

" This is not at all, Madam, a solicitation for a place, it is for the safety of a very good wife, without which the best post I am capable of enjoying would give me but little satisfaction, and with

it, even my present condition can make me most happy, therefore I must struggle as if it were the last effort of my life. I do not feel in myself that it is possible I can forget what favour is done me in this affair, and I am so happy as that I am able to number you the best of my friends and I am ever at your commands."*

Lastly, Lord Lovat's letters to his Agent casually convey to us the ending of the unhappy tale. It is known that Mrs McFarlane ultimately returned to Edinburgh; but it is only now we learn that she lived just three years after the tragedy, and that she was succeeded by another "pretty Mrs McFarlane," perhaps as beautiful as the first; certainly as well born. On the sixth of October 1719, Lord Lovat writes from Inverness to his Agent—

"DEAR SIR—I had ye honour of your letter giving me ye happy account of your marriage & its with greatest pleasure & sincerity I wish you all imaginable

* *The Swintons of that Ilk* has no mention of this letter.

joy and happiness. I heard of ye Lady* and she has the reputation of a very beautyful worthy person so I am very much rejois'd at your good choice and ye more yt I have ye honour to be your Lady's Relation, for ye Earle of Weems daughter was my ffather's mother so that I have now allyance to claim to you as well as ffrdship and comeradship. I presume to offer my humble duty to your young Lady & I wish you all prosperity together."

And again, in March 1725, to denunciations of "that Rogue Phopachic's" doings and the villany of Castle-ledders, Lord Lovat adds—

"I am just now drinking your health & Mrs McFarlane's wth ye Br. (Brigadier) Mr Wemyss who is a very pretty gentleman, he gave me ye most agreeable news yt you are provided for in a place for life with 150 pd. per annum. I do assure you yt wthout any flattery no man alive is more overjoyed than I am

* In *The Swintons* (p. 90), it is noticed that there is in the possession of Sir Arthur Halkett, Bart., at Pitfirrane, a portrait of "Mrs McFarlane, a young lady of remarkable beauty." Which Mrs McFarlane?

at any prosperous thing yt happens to you; for I not only esteem your merit, but I always lov'd your person, having still found you as much of a gentleman as any of your Country. I find now yt you will grow rich whether you will or not. I wish you three or four sons wth pretty Mrs McFarlane that yr happiness may be compleat in this world."*

* Pope, in a letter to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, speaks, in his flippant manner, of the story of Mrs McFarlane. See his *Works*, Roscoe's ed., vol. ix. pp. 34, 35.

No. IV.

THREATENED EVICTION.

THE following letter from Alex. Fraser to Lord Lovat shews that among his Lordship's tenants there were letter-writers almost as skilful as himself—

"MY LORD,—I judge it still my duty to writt to your Lordship with all occasions according to your desyre, but would not have begun untill I knew of your Lordship's safe arrivall at your journey's end which I allwayes pray for. And the reason why I writt soe soon is because two dayes after your Lordship left this place I gott a charge of removeall from a pittifull little possession that I have in the Wester Clunes of two bolls pay, and notwithstanding of the meanness of it, it is impossible for me to labour Belldown without it, it being the only grass that I have for Keeping ane half dozen cowes for milk to my

babies and graseing my horses whilst they draw my fewell which your Lordship Knowes is inconvenient for this place. There is noe gentleman or oyr that desyres the Clunes but has too much of a labouring ther by what I labour there. And to prefferr a Common fellow to me is what I Know your Lordship will not nor ever did any els since I took that place, haveing five years of a tack yet unexpyred of it. I need not wrytt much further of this matter since I Know that is done without your Lordship's consent. I allways expect the honour of ane lyne from your Lordship and whatever comes of that possession or anything els there is nothing can alter me from testifieing how much I am, my Lord

"Your Lordship's obedient humble servant

"ALEX. FRASER.

"BELLDOWN, 29*th* 1717.

"My Lady, blessed be God, is something more heartie than when your Lordship went of."—*Pitfirrane MSS.*

No. V.

THE OUTRAGE ON CASTLEHILL'S CATTLE.

THE attack on Phopachy's house is mentioned in Hill Burton's Biography of Lord Lovat, but not that on Cuthbert of Castlehill's property, consequent on the arbitration. It is thus described in the *Mémoires :—*

. . . "Ces Arbitres, après un long examen de l'affaire, décidérent à la fin, que Milord devoit à Mr *Fraser* une somme considérable pour solde de compte. Cette décision le mit en fureur, et il recusa les Arbitres, les taxant de partialité. Quelques jours après il arriva que les Parcs et Enclos de M. *Cuthbert* se trouvérent démolis pendant la nuit par une bande de Montagnards armés et déguisés, qui tuérent, ou coupérent les jarrêts à toutes les vaches

au nombre de cent, et au-delà; et ce qui rendit l'action encore plus barbare, c'est que Mr *Cuthbert* avoit enclos un peu auparavant une grande partie des ses Terres, pour y faire pâturer un nombre des Meilleures vaches qu'il avoit pu trouver dans le Païs, desquelles il tiroit des profits tres considérables.

"Cet indigne projet fut si bien conduit et mis en usage avec tant de secret, qu'on n'en put pas découvrir les auteurs durant quelques tems, mais la plupart du monde croyoit que le Lord *Lovat* en étoit le chef" (p. 75–6).

The following letters from the *Pitfirrane MSS.* have reference to the same transaction :—

Bailie John Stewart to Lord Lovat.

"INVERNESS, 13 *March* 1725.

"MY LORD,—I had the honour of your Lordship's favour of the 20th of February, which chiefly concerns your affair with Captain Hugh Fraser. Dunballach and I were at a good deal of pains in that affair having narrowly considered the depositions of the several witnesses, were examined in that process by which

it seems very plain that Capt. Fraser did sustain considerable damage, or the witnesses must have sworn falsely, wch I cannot help, tho' indeed I could not see how that affair could be directly fixed on your Lordship, but rather on Phopachie who chiefly appears to have given orders in that affair, but as your Lordship seems to intimate to me that you had made yourself concerned in it by agreeing to compound it for respect and design of friendship with Dunballach's family. I could not miss to give my opinion in determining your loss in something much less than what I am persuaded the Capt. lost in that affair; but as I signed that opinion of mine only to your Lordship, I don't see it can determine you in the least to further complyance than what your Lordship thinks fit, for I never exchanged a letter nor a word on that subject with Capt. Fraser in my life. Yesterday Archibald Campbell and Donald Mackinon that were [seen?] making attack on Phopachie's house, recd. sentence of death, and are to be hanged in ten days. I say they recd. sentence from our Sherriff deputies and a great deal of pains was taken by

Phopachie and Castie to make great discoveries who were their out hounders ;* but I don't hear they'll make much of it. Only I hear Campbell was induced to say publickly in Court yesterday before sentence was pass'd and I suppose in hopes it had been mitigated, that he heard that 50 men were imployed, above three months past, to dispatch Phopachie and that Lachlan Down[y] (a notorious Locharcking thief who was likeways wounded at Phopachie's house) told him that John Fraser, he meant litle Stratherick John, brought letters from London on that head, but did not say from whom, but after sentence of death was pass'd, Campbell told he knew nothing certain of John Fraser or anybody else in the storie, however you may believe that severalls here were not wanting to make some base malicious innuendoes from what this Campbell said which I will forbear at present. But last night I happened to be in company with Dunballach, the said John Fraser, your chamberlain, and severall others of your Lordship's friends, and

* Hound out—to incite to violence.

by what I learned of the character and late practices of these condemned villains. It is plain to a demonstration that they and their gang are a parcel of common abandoned thieves and banditti, who have been in constant practice of robbing and stealing of a long time, and particularly the night they broke in to Phopachie, robbed several houses & people of your country, and it was the attempt they made on the Chamberlain's house immediately before that raised the country people that seized and dispersed them, and I am as fully convinced as that the sun shines that little John Fraser was no more concerned directly nor indirectly in any out-hounding than I was, and as he is now here, he hopes ere he leave the town to bring that aspersion to nothing, from the very confession of Campbell who mentioned his name; but its well known who spoke of John Fraser formerly on the story of the houghing of Castie's cattle, and I am persuaded this lately put in Campbell's head flows from the same fountain; so for my part I would have poor John Fraser, who I take to be a mighty honest man or any else thats intended

throw him to be aspersed to be very easie, for I am positive the malice of some will cast up in a proper light very soon. I observe the attack has been made on your lordship for granting your salmon hereafter to William Mackay. He may have justly a better claim to a preference that way when he gives more money or pays better, but till then I think, without vanity, I can lay as good a claim to preference as he, but will not insist on this subject further till please God to send your Lordship home, and then I suppose will sett some part of mankind in a clearer light as to the obligations your Lordship owes them. I am glad my Lady is coming home, and will be glad to wait of her as she passes this way, as will my spouse. I am mightily pleased your Lordship's independent company is ascertained. I shall ever wish you all health happiness and prosperity & I ever am My Lord

"Your Lordship's very faithfull
humble servant
"JOHN STEWART."

"Shall be glad to hear frequently from your Lordship of what occurs."

Lord Lovat to Mr John McFarlane.

"LONDON *ye 6th of May* 1725.

"DEAR SIR,—I am sure you will be glad to know yt ye unheard of villanous design of murdering my person and reputation is now by providence fully discovered.

"I have letters & affidavits from ye North which plainly make appear yt the hellish knave phopahy was the contriver of this barbarous plot to ruin me. Culodin has a plain and full account of it from the magistrates of Inverness.

"The method he took to perpetrate his wicked design was thus: he imploy'd one Thomas Mackenzie son to Captain John Mackenzie of Clunes a debauch'd rakeish young fellow who is well aquanted wh all ye Banditi in the highlands he ingaged him to bring one Lahlan Down[y] to him at ye markat of Beulie in Novre. last. This Lahlan Downi is a Ringleader of a gang of Robers. Mr Mackenze brought this famous Capt. of Banditi to phopahy three severall tymes & at last phopahy agrees to give the Capt. fifteen gineas & some smal reward to his party for his coming to phopahy house & Riffleing of it & for burning a part

of his corn in a barn distant from his house & then declaiming that it was I yt imploy'd them & be Ready to swear yt before any judge. Accordingly they came as you have heard & my servants took 2 of ym prisoners. Ye three yt are free are ready to come before any judge & solemnly swear yt phopahy both contrived and imployd ym to execut this horrid crime. I am assur'd yt if this is judicially proven yt it will hang phopahy; & I am fully resolved to prosecut him to ye utmost. I think I am obliged by ye laws of God and nature to do it; this affair I believe will hasten our frds being hd [heard?]; ad. I beg you may let all my frds know this story both ye McLeods and Dr Clark and Geo. Drummond and Mc Gill, and whom all you please. I give my humble service to Mrs Mc farlan & I am sincerely

"Dear Sir

"Your most obedt. humble servt.

"LOVAT."

No. VI.

LOVAT'S LETTERS TO LORD ELCHIES AND PROFESSOR CRAIGIE.

THE extracts from Lord Lovat's letters, which it has been necessary to give in the course of this narrative, shew but one aspect of the writer. His style was equally precise and effective when he desired to be pleasant; above all, when he had anything to ask for. The letters which follow are selected from Mr Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's collection as good specimens, and interesting.

Lord Lovat to Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies.*

"MY DEAR LORD—I receav'd with great pleasur ye honour of yr letter of ye 9t. of this month from the S —— and I am extreamly glad to know yt yr Lpd & the worthy Lady Elches & all

* Patrick Grant of Easter Elchies, a Judge of the Court of Session, 1732; died 1754.

your Lovly family are well, & I beg leave to assure yr Lpd & them all of my most affectionat humble duty. I was much Concern'd & afflicted when I got an account of Dalrahnys* Life being disspair'd of he was my fathfull ffrd & Commarad for many yeares & the only man yt fought & wounded a son of the family of Athols on my account for which I thought myself oblidg'd on all occasions, in point of gratitude, to appear his passionat ffrd, which I did even against his Chief my Br. in Law; for when this Laird of Grant wrot to me yt he put all his allayance on yt single point of my Joining him to turn out Dalrahny, I answer'd him yt I was sory he put so litle a value on our allayance, that they were none of his ffrds yt Incens'd him against Dalrahny who was as usefull a man as was of his Countery, & yt I was under such particular obligations to him, That if it was possible for my Brother John to rise from the dead, & put in for Dalrahny's post, I would stand by Dalrahny against my

* John Grant of Dalrachnie was Bailie of the Regality of Grant.

Brother.* Young Dalrahny saw yt letter. & knows of it & I acted ever sinc wt ye same zeal for Dalrahny and your Lpd may easily belive yt the zeal yt I had for the ffather shall never diminish for honest Sandie his son, upon many accounts, first as his father's son 2dly Sandy himself is a sweet blooded honest Lad yt always show'd a vast affection & regard for me But last of all tho' I had no Regard for Dalrahny nor for his son Sandys being maryied to your father's daughter, who was my stout & great ffriend, & her being Petrie Oig's sister would make me stand for Sandie against any ffrazer yt would put in for his post. So my dear Lord you may assur him yt I will be as actif & zealous for him as you would be was you in my place, C'est tout dire. I was quit mad at the malicious patriots & very ready to make warr against them wt fire & sword for attacking my Cusin & good ffriend my Ld. Miltoun, But when I knew yt he Came so well off, I wish'd to have been in his place I

* This sentence was quoted during the Lovat Peerage case in 1843, in proof of the death of John Fraser, Simon's brother, in 1716.

would have Indeavour'd to have made more of ye merit of Being accus'd as a partizan of ye Ministry than his Lpd. will make this year unless ye old justice* or ye pr——t† dyes, in yt case I hope ye attack for Hadingtoun will be remember'd, & I could by vertu of my Novitiat as Cardinal give those two old Gentilmen a passport to St. Peter to let them go straight to paradise wthout touching at purgatory, & if they do not take my passport I am affraid no body els will ventur to give them any; yr ffrd & mine, Mr Colquhoun, writs to me yt my great ffrd ye peer of Ilay, being Inform'd yt ffrazerdale refus'd to allow my Rights to be compleated till he got his money, or Low Countery Security, has writ twice to my Ld. Miltown very strongly to procure me ye use of 4000 pds from the Bank this term on good security. Tho I knew yt my Ld. Miltown will have a particular regard to my Ld. Hay's letters & yt

* Adam Cokburne, Lord Ormiston, Lord Justice-Clerk, died 1735, and was succeeded by Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton.

† Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, Lord President of the Court of Session, died 1737, and was succeeded by Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

he has a real ffrdship for myself, yet, my dr. Petrie oig, I earnestly beg of you yt you give in your good word for me, for my all depends on geting this money; I trust to you & I am wthout Reserve wth Love & Respect my dear Ld. your own Slave LOVAT.

"BEAUFORT *ye 18th of Aprile* 1735."

"*P.S.* My Lady Lovat & my boys are well & offer yr Ldp. & my Lady Elches ther most humble duty, &, my dear Petrie Oig, I beg you make my Court to my Ld. Miltown, for by St. Peter & St. Paul I made yours many a day to him, so giff gaff makes good ffriends.

"Adieu my dr. Lord."

Lord Lovat to Professor Craigie, St Andrews.*

"DEAR SIR . . . My son would have been with you above a month ago, but that he had a troublesome lingering fever in the Month of October, as I wrote you in my last, and it is within this fortnight that he was able to come down

* Thomas Craigie, Professor of Hebrew, a relative of the Lord Advocate.—*Culloden Papers*, p. 210.

stairs. I thank God he is now very well recover'd and able for any Journey, I therefore resolve, God willing, that he should take Journey Monday Morning; He can make but very slow journeys so that I believe it will be about the 15 day of this Moneth before he is with you. But I am esy about the time he takes on the Journey providing he takes care of his health and arrives safe at St Andrews.

"I need not tell you, dear Sir, that I committ and entirely give up to your care and goodness what is most dear to me on Earth.

"My family was ruin'd and almost extinguish'd by the contrivance and barbarous designs and Actions of my wicked covetous and rich Neighbours the Mackenzies. But as I was the heir male and the reall head of the family of Lovat and the Chief of the Clann of the Frasers I thought it my duty and a naturall Tye upon me to venture my person and Life to recover such an antient family from the hands of the Amalekites, and this duty which was inseparable from my nature oblig'd me to expose my person to innumerable

difficulties, fatigues and dangers by Sea & Land for about 40 years and this I did in such a ventorious or rather desperate manner that none of my Enemies, or even of my own friends and Relations thought that ever I would be able to accomplish my design but that I must die in the attempting of it. Yet God's providence, that ever seemed miraculous in perserving me and giving Success to my design, has so bless'd my Endeavours that I thank God almighty the family and Estate of Lovat are now on a better footing than they have been these three hundred years past; so that God's goodness to me has been admired by all that Knew me . . .

"The eldest [son] who is to represent this antient and great family, and numerous and brave Clann I send now to you that you may train him in the true principles of honour and Integrity and to instruct him to do nothing unworthy of his Birth & Condition in the World. . . . He has the failings of youth which Commonly are inconstancy, Idleness, and Laziness. But what affects me more is that I am afraid he is proud, which, God be thanked, he did not Learn

from his ffather. Another great fault that I find in him is that he is obstanate and tenacious when he argues and reasons with any person, and I am afraid is self conceited; and he never will make a fine gentleman if he does not abandon those failings. . . . Your good instructions and good Example will soon correct him and strip him of his faults, which would be the greatest Comfort I could receive this Side of time, and would give me more Joy than all the Rubies and honours of the World could afford me.

"As to his Masters in the University I don't see the benefite of sending my son to any Class except the Philosophy Class, because I would have him a little more perfect in his Greek and Latin in a private way before he begins to any publick study. But I think the Philosophy Class will help to form his Discourse in argueing which in my opinion is the most material thing that can be learn'd at Colleges now. I studied more than most young men that ever studied for four years at the University of Aberdeen so that when I was graduate *in Circulo per se*, my Regent, then Sub-

Principall, who was me Relation, and of my family, entreated me to take his next Class to teach and that he would retire because he had whereupon to live, since he was pleas'd to say that I was as capable to teach as he was, and to persuade me to it he told me that the Earl of Aberdn. made his fortune by being Regent at that University, and the Earl of Stairs by being Regent at Glasgow.

"But the unhappy Inclination that youth very often have for the Army made me refuse that very kind and affectionate offer. And now I have no benefite by the four years that I most slav'd in my Life at the College but a little taste of Logicks and Philosophy. This makes me incline that my son should not take up his time with the Classes of the College, for I am afraid that the most he would learn in it would be a Correspondence with youths full as idle as himself.

"I beg you ten thousand pardons for Tyring you with such a long Letter; but the subject of it takes up so much my thoughts that it is not easy for me to reduce them to short bounds . . . And

believe that I am with a most sincere Esteem, Attachment and regard

"Dear Sir, your most obedient, most obliged and most faithfull humble Servant LOVAT.

"BEAUFORT *3rd Decemb.* 1743."

"*P.S.* . . . I am absolutely against his medling with the Mathematicks till he is once Master of his Greek and Latin. And my learn'd friends here desire me to begg of you to give him an hour, or what time you think fit, every day to look over his Classicks, for my positive Resolution is that he should study the Law tho' not to make bread of it, but to be capable to serve his Country, when he has occasion, and to preserve his family from being abus'd and deceiv'd by men who commonly impose upon Country Gentlemen by their pretended Knowledge of the Law: Which has been my own Case and I have suffer'd much by it."

In the autumn of the following year Lovat writes again to Professor Craigie, announcing his son's arrival, and enthusiastic reception by the Clan; also con-

tinuing his instructions for the next Session, combined with reminiscences of his own College life. The latter are interesting, and characteristic of the Chief, in his plausible mood—

"As to Philosophy and Mathematicks I think my son should not trouble himself but with a superficial knowledge of them and not spend much of his money or his time with them. I was the youth of this Age that apply'd himself most to College Learning. I was four years at the University of Aberdeen I read ten hours every day . . . . but the damn'd Army carry'd me away . . . . and to my great regrete that four years studys never signified a sixpence to me except to help me to chatter on some such foolish subject as *Ens rationis* whereas if I have employed those four years which were the quintessence of my youth health and spirits which no debauch ever attacked ; and I bless God to this hour I never was drunk tho' I served in different Armies and with different Nations ; I say if I had spent those four years of the flower of my youth in useful Studies I would have found the

benefite of it all my life, and the spending of them in idle College Learning was a Loss that I never could repair to this hour.

. . . . "I presume to offer Mrs Craigie a small token of my gratitude; I have written to Edinr. and order'd my son to send there for just such a Ring as I have given to my two Daughters and my Son. If I live I hope to make a better present to Mrs Craigie and to make you a present suitable to your Desert and to your great care of my son."

No. VII.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND'S COMMISSION TO MAJOR FRASER.

"WHEREAS Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat, has been guilty of various treasonable practises & acts of Rebellion against his Majestie & his Government, and is for the same detained in Custody in order to abyde the tryall of his Peers; and as he is possest of several Lands in Culture, many of which have now quantities of Grain and Corns growing on them, and likewise of the Rights of Salmond Fishing in various waters:

"To the end, therefore, that the Corn and Grain growing upon the Lands, and the fish may be preserved for the use and support of his Majestie's forces in these parts, till his Peers shall have given sentence upon those matters he stands charged with; it is fitting & convenient that a proper person should be appointed

to take care of the Same. A verie good Report having been made of the sufficiency & ability of you, *James Fraser* of Castle Leathers, you are hereby authorised & impowered to take into your Charge the Several Lands belonging or lately belonging to Lord Lovat hereafter named; that is to say, the Lands of Castledouny, Westerdouny, Cullrinie, Fanellen, Tomach, Lovat, Muniack, Bruiack, and the fishings of the water; and you shall carefully preserve the Grass growing thereon for the Use of the Troops in the Winter, and the Corn of the several sorts you shall cause to be gathered for the use of the Troops likewise, keeping ane Account thereof; nor shall you suffer any Cattle to graze on the ground but such as ther may be orders for from the Commanding Officers of His Majesty's forces at Inverness. And such Fish as may be taken in the Waters you shall send to be divided among the King's Troops at Inverness; except such Quantitys as it may be necessary to sell to raise Money for defraying the expense of fishing. And you are hereby likewise impowered to appoint such other persons as you may

think fitt in the performance of this service. And for your so doing this shall be to Intents and Purposes your full and sufficient Warrant and Authority.

"Head Quarters at Fort Augustus
the 4th day of July 1746.
"By his Royal Highness the
Duke's Command.
"Signed EVERARD FAWKENER.

"To James Fraser, of Castle Leathers Esqr."

No. VIII.

MAJOR FRASER'S PORTRAIT AND DESCENDANTS.

THE following interesting communication has been most kindly furnished by Sir Henry Cockburn Macandrew, Kt., Provost of Inverness :—

" . . . I have known a good many of Major Fraser's descendants. There were two very picturesque old ladies, Miss Annie and Miss Peggy Grant, who lived in Inverness, and were very intimate with my father and mother when I was a boy ; the last of whom died about twenty-four years ago. They were daughters of the minister of Kilmonavaig (in Lochaber), and I think grand-children of the Major. They had, when I first remember, a portrait of him ; and the story they told me about it was that it was painted in London, in the dress in which he was presented at Court.

"The portrait shews a kind of Highland dress, with trews. When asked by the ladies what the plaid was for, the Major gallantly answered that it was 'to wrap his sweetheart in;' and when asked why the sleeves of the doublet were slashed, he replied that it was 'to shew that he had a linen shirt.'

"The portrait was given by the old ladies to Colonel Fraser, the head of the City of London Police, who is, I believe, the direct male representative of Major Fraser.

"In a search among the Sheriff Court Records at Inverness recently, with reference to the claim to the Lovat Peerage, there turned up extracts of an acknowledgment by Major Fraser to James Fraser* of Chelsea College, dated at London, the 28th August 1716, for a loan of £20; and an extract of an assignation of the debt by James Fraser, to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands, dated 4th Sept. 1724. It occurred to me that the £20 was borrowed to pay for the dress in which the Major was presented at

* See *ante*, p. 27.

Court. He would probably have been in London with Simon, Lord Lovat, after the suppression of the Rebellion of 1715. The obligation was recorded in the books of Council and Session the 15th April 1727, and the assignation on the same date; and they point to proceedings against the Major for recovery of the debt. The portrait was engraved for the book on the *Costumes of the Clans*, by the Sobieski Stuarts. We have a copy of the portrait in the Town Hall at Inverness."

The description of the picture is as follows :—

"The portrait of Major James Fraser of Castle Leathers, in the possession of his descendant, Miss Grant of Kilmonavaig, at Inverness, was painted about the year 1723.

"The 'cota-goirid' is of a dark and very simple tartan, and in shape resembles exactly the long and hideous stable waistcoat of a modern groom. Instead of buttons, the breast is closed with gilt clasps . . . and is left open almost to the breast, discovering a waistcoat of the same tartan as the

coat, furnished with clasps of a lesser size, and having straight sleeves bound at the wrist with gold. The *truis* are of the same tartan as the coat and waistcoat, gartered with scarlet garters; . . . the unsightly pouch is of leather, with two red cords, terminated by buff tassels. The plaid is of scarlet tartan, disposed with a base affectation of negligence. The sword has the inelegant pot hilt, common from the time of James VII.

"The belt is the black varnished leather strap, stigmatised by recent bards:—

> "Claidheamh a' choire, thana ghlais,
> Air chrios tearrach mosach dubh,
> Sud bu fhreagarach do mhac ceaird."
>
> "The sword of the thin grey pot,
> Hung in a sordid *black-tarred belt*,
> Might well befit a tinker's son."

"The bonnet is of dark blue cloth, exhibiting the profile of a Bologna sausage, and decorated with the Black, or Hanoverian, Cockade. The shoes are square-toed, clumsy clogs, which afford little association of feet which are said to have danced 'Gille-Callum' before Caroline of Brandenburg."

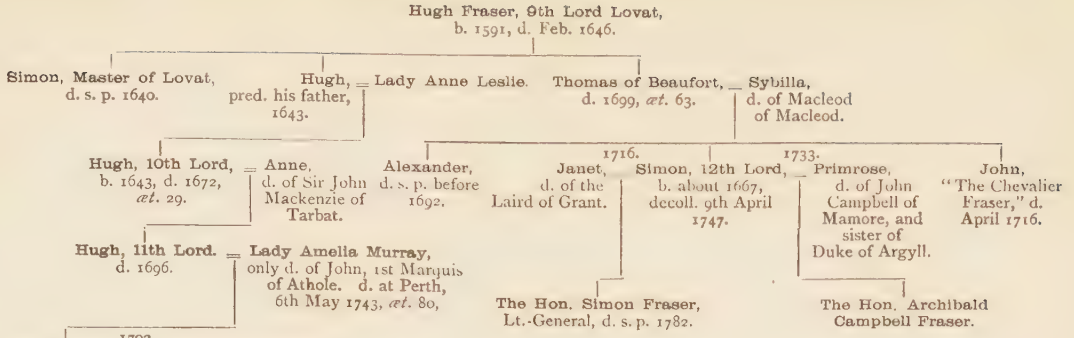
A few notes by John Sobieski Stuart and his brother are of interest :—

"Major Fraser was an officer of the original 'Black Watch,'* afterwards embodied into the 43rd, the parent of the present 42nd regiment. He is said to have been remarkable for his handsome person and elegance of manners. . . . He married one of the daughters of Sir Robert Dunbar of Grange Hill, now Dalvey, near Forres, to whom he had been commissioned to make suit for his brother; in reply to which the lady remarked that he 'would have done better to have solicited for himself.' He spent his last days at the residence of his son Robert, the castle of Inch-hauch, near Altairn, where he died at the age of ninety."†

* Probably Major Fraser was an officer of one of the Independent Companies of which the 42nd Regiment was afterwards composed. See vol. i., p. 27 [ED.]

† *Costumes of the Highland Clans*, by John Sobieski Stolberg, and Charles Edward Stuart. Edin., 1845, pp. 117-18, Plate XXI.

1889



A

Genealogical Sketch

OF THE FAMILY OF

FRASER OF LOVAT

1591–1782.

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